



Before the arrival of European missionaries in the Orinoco basin region, the Maipure constituted a small ethnic entity in the area of the upper course of the Orinoco River (Amazonas State, Venezuela). Their speech-from the Maipuran or Arawakan stock-was also probably employed in this zone as a medium of communication among individuals of

different languages. But by 1767, most of the Maipure had been brought together by the Jesuits into two missions along the middle course of the Orinoco, together with members of other ethnic groups, in order to facilitate their conversion to Christianity. At this time the use of Spanish became predominant among this people and their own language ceased to be spoken.

The author's intention with this contribution is to present all the knowledge that he has been able to gather from all the surviving material on this little known, extinct language of South America. The present sketch, therefore, contains chapters on phonology and morphosyntax, as well as the two available Maipure texts (with a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis) and also a word list in the form of an appendix. The introductory sections deal with the socio- and geolinguistic situations, the genetic affinities, and issues of languages contact (with neighbouring languages and Spanish). In these sections, one can also find a discussion on Avane, a closely related language (or, perhaps, a co-dialect) once spoken along the banks of the Autana and Sipapo Rivers that went out of use in the same period, and for the same reasons, as Maipure.

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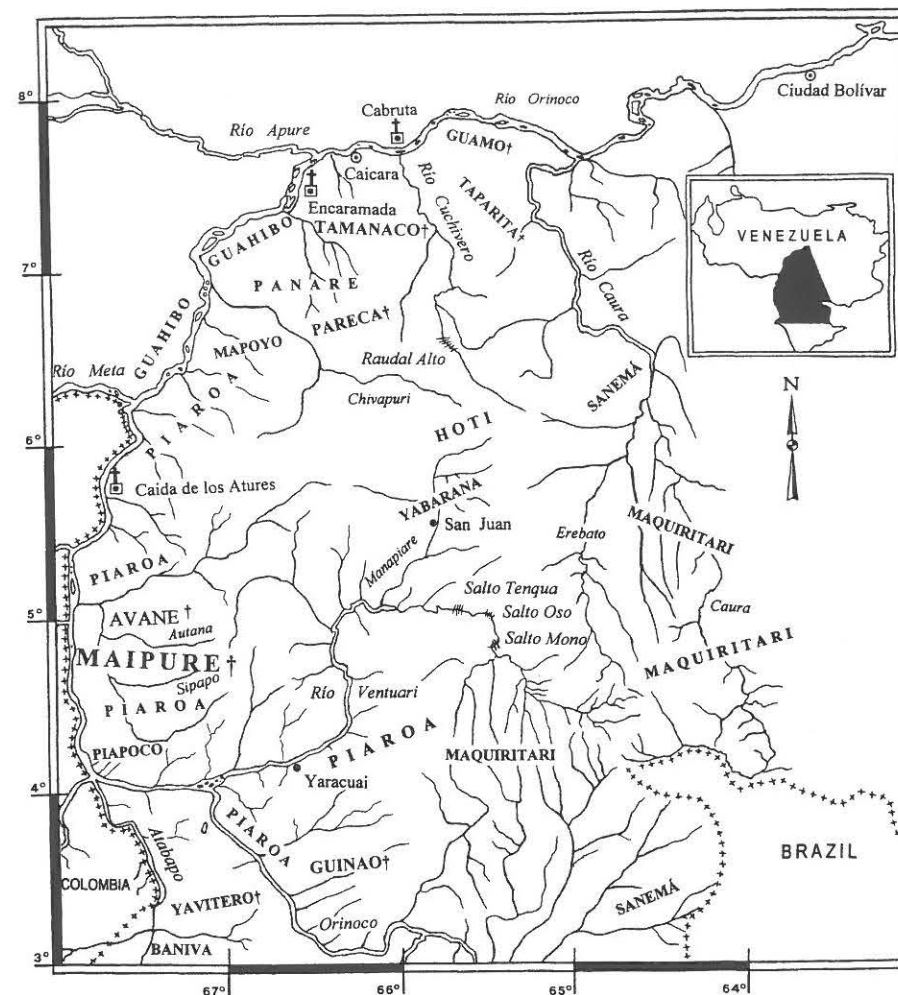
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List of abbreviations and symbols

A	subject (agent) of a transitive verb
ATTR	attributive
AUG	augmentative
C	consonant
CL	classifier
CLOS	stem closure
CONT	continuative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DS	different subject referent
EMPH	emphasis
f.	feminine
FUT	future
IMP	impersonal
INTERJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
IRR	irrealis
It.	Italian
NEG	negative
nf., NF	non-feminine
NOMLZR	nominalizer
NOM-PAST	nominal past
NP	noun phrase
NPOSS	non-possessed
O, O _{dir}	direct object
O _{ind}	indirect object
p.	person
pl., PL	plural
P-M	Proto-Maipuran
POSS	possessive
PRIV	privative
REL	relative
S _a	subject of an intransitive active verb
S _o	subject of an intransitive stative verb
sg.	singular
Sp.	Spanish
TAG	tag-question marker
v., V	verb
V	vowel
VBLZR	verbalizer
WH	WH-question marker
Y/N	neutral yes/no-question marker
Ø	zero, null realization
()	added grapheme
[]	superfluous grapheme
{ }	corrected grapheme
?	uncertain
??	unknown

Map



1 Introduction¹

1.1 Socio- and geolinguistic data

Maipure ([maipúli jukuále], lit. ‘language of the Maipure’, Sp. *Maypure*, It. *Maipure*²) was spoken along the banks of the Ventuari, Sipapo, and Autana (Auvana) Rivers in the present day Amazonas State of Venezuela until 1767. By this time most of the Maipure people had already been brought together by the Jesuits—along with members of other native groups (the Maipuran Avane and Yavitero and the Cariban Tamanaco) in order to facilitate conversion—into two *reducciones* (villages) along the middle course of the Orinoco River: Caida de los Atures and Encaramada.³ In these settlements, due to the conditions of cultural destruction, acculturation, and multilingualism in which the Maipure found themselves, the language disappeared rather quickly, and was completely replaced by Spanish within a few generations. The Maipure language also declined rapidly among the small groups of Maipure who had escaped deportation, largely—I suppose—as a consequence of a lack of social cohesion. The small groups in question are reported to have existed in 1767 along the banks of the Upper Orinoco, the Río Negro, and the Amazon (“Marañón”) (Hervás y Panduro 1787b:67).

It is possible that, until the mid-eighteenth century, the language of the Maipure even functioned as an interlingual medium of communication among linguistically diverse native groups of the Upper Orinoco. However, it did not serve as a sociolinguistic buffer which provided native peoples with protection against outside intrusion, nor was it adopted by the Jesuits as the missionary or church lingua franca for the area.

La loro lingua siccome facilissima ad imparare, è divenuta tra tutti gli Orinochesi una lingua di moda; e chi poco, chi molto, chi mediocrementemente, chi bene, la parlano quasi tutti (Gilij 1781:43).

¹ I am grateful to Luciano Giannelli and Anthony Mattina for comments on previous drafts of this work and, for the revision of my English, to Eithne Carlin and Tania Strahan. I would also like to thank Michael Kenstowicz for his assistance with the chapter on phonology and María Eugenia Villalón for making unpublished material on two Maipuran languages of Venezuela available to me. Comments, on almost every page of a previous draft, also came from Alexandra Aikhenvald, without whose support (before and during my stay at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at La Trobe University in Melbourne) I would have never completed this publication. The errors of style and substance that remain are, no doubt, my own.

² In Spanish, an unstressed [i] in word-final position is extremely rare. This explains the orthographic representation <Maypure> for [maipúli] that we find in the old Spanish sources mentioning this language (e.g. Gumilla 1745). In Italian, a noun with a final unstressed [i] is masculine plural and this explains the occurrence in the Italian sources (see §1.2) of <Maipùri> only as a plural noun (and adjective), alongside the singular form <Maipùre> (with [-e] in place of [-i]).

³ The Maipure were transferred to Caida de los Atures along with Avane and Yavitero (“Parene”) people and to Encaramada along with Avane and Tamanaco people. Gilij (1780:130) estimates that, in around 1767, there were less than 2,000 Maipure. For more ethnographic data on the Maipure, see Gilij (1781, 1782), Mooney (1913), and Bueno (1933).

Non ha l'Orinoco veruna lingua, che tutti universalmente capiscano. Ma la lingua de' Maipùri, facile sopra tutte le Orinochesi, e galante, si potrebbe render comune, se si volesse. Gl' Indiani dell'alto Orinoco per lo più la sanno tutti. Quei del basso, essendovi tra loro de' Maipùri, l'imparano facilmente. Infatti non v'è riduzione alcuna di quelle, che già appartennero a' Gesuiti, nella quale non sia giovevole questa lingua; e non sapendo comunemente le altre, capiscono molti almen questa. I soldati stessi, e le loro famiglie vi parlano molto bene. Onde, se levar si volesse l'ostacolo di tante lingue, e scemare a' missionarj il travaglio, questa lingua sarebbe assai approposito per farne una generale (Gilij 1782:199).⁴

The name Maipure or, more exactly, [maipúli] probably comes from the Carib (Kari'na) term for 'tapir'.⁵ A joking term that has been used by the Avane, a neighbouring group, for the Maipure people is *Metimetikini*. This term perhaps alludes to the frequent polysyllabicity of Maipure words (see §2.5.2).⁶

. . . gli Avani, più di ogni altra nazione, fan pompa del loro gergo; e alludendo alla natura del parlare de' Maipuri, gli chiamano per ischernio *Metimetichini*, formando con questa voce un'effigie delle diverse sillabe, delle quali costan le voci de' Maipuri (Gilij 1782:203).

Gilij (1782), the most important source describing the speech of the Maipure, contains further general comments on the language, but these provide neither concrete information on its structure nor do they help to understand how it sounded. One such comment refers to a perceptible division into syllables of the linear phoneme-strings of speech.

I *Tamanachi* hanno un parlare piuttosto molle ed effeminato; quello de' *Maipuri* è corrente e gajo, e staccato a maraviglia ogni sillaba (p. 158).

In other passages of the book, Gilij states that when the words of Maipure are combined into connected speech, the pronunciation of their individual segments remain unchanged and that the language is easy to learn having substantially "little grammar" (especially when compared with the language of the Tamanaco).

La lingua de' *Maipuri* è più rigida [della Tamanaca]; e non v'è caso, in cui scemi, o scorci un tantino le sue parole: ma quali son separatamente, e da per sé sole pigliate; tali ancor sono unite insieme, e disposte studiosamente in un senso (p. 151).

. . . la lingua de' *Tamanachi* richiede una fatica enormissima nell'imparare i verbi . . . ha universalmente tanta difficoltà, che in quel tempo, che la *Tamanaca* s'impara, di lingue simili alla *Maipure* potrebbero impararsene anche dieci (p. 171).

La lingua Maipure, benché giusta [*sic*] il comun pensare sia vezzosa, ed espressiva oltre ogni altra Orinochese, non è nondimeno sì vasta come la Tamanaca, né bisogna di tante regole (p. 185).

E' maestosa la lingua de' *Tamanachi*, abbondante di declinazioni varie, e di coniugazioni diverse. Ed in questo non sono certo migliori le nostre lingue. Siccome dinanzi dicemmo, non è così copiosa la lingua de' Maipuri: è brevissima anzi che nò [*sic*]. Ma ciò non toglie un punto della sua leggiadria, né di quella stima, in cui è meritevole presso di tutti (p. 192).

The relative morphological simplicity of Maipure which Gilij refers to and which emerges from a comparison with genetically related languages (e.g. Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako) is, as far as is

⁴ Italian and Spanish quotations will not be translated, in the interest of space.

⁵ Carib *maipu:ri* (Proto-Cariban *matjipuri; Girard 1971:278). The Meepure, another group once located along the Ventuari River (Gilij 1782:35), said to be linguistically close to the Maipure (see §1.3.1), presumably also get their name from Carib *maipu:ri*.

⁶ Note that in Maipure *-kini* is the second half of the discontinuous attributive affix (see §3.1.2.7.2). Observe also that the nickname *Metimetikini* contains two sound combinations that Avane does not normally allow: [ti] and [ki] (see §1.4).

know, also an intrinsic characteristic of its closest known linguistic relatives: Yavitero and Baniwa (of Guaina) (see Aikhenvald 1998:229).

1.2 Sources of information

The linguistic material forming the basis of the present study of the Maipure language dates from the second half of the eighteenth century. It is material supplied by three volumes of the copious work *Saggio di storia americana* (Rome, 1780–1784, 4 vols.) of the Italian Jesuit Filippo Salvatore (Salvadore) Gilij (1721–1789), who was a missionary among the Maipure and Tamanaco from 1749 to 1767⁷ and was himself a competent speaker of their languages; or obtained from him by his well-known Spanish brother Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809) and published by the latter in four volumes of the encyclopaedic work *Idea dell'Universo* (Cesena, Italy, 1778–1792, 22 vols.).⁸ There are, therefore, no linguistic differences in the Maipure of these documents.

The two major sources, which I will label M1 and M2, are the following.

- M1: Gilij (1782) provides us with a general description of the languages of the area of the Orinoco, mainly Tamanaco (see note 31) and Maipure (*Delle lingue degli Orinochesi*), which represents the third part of the work (*Libro Terzo*). In particular, it provides us with a discussion on the origins of Orinoco languages and their (fortuitous) lexical similarities with the languages of the Old World, as well as notes on phonetics and morphology, a concise examination of Orinoco languages' genetic relationships, a grammatical sketch of Tamanaco and a shorter one of Maipure, a text translated into both Tamanaco and Maipure, and word lists in Tamanaco, Maipure, and other American languages.

Libro Terzo: Delle lingue degli Orinochesi. I. Della loro origine, e del modo di ritrovarne il rapporto con quelle del nostro continente. II. Se le lingue degli Orinochesi sieno somiglianti alle nostre. III. Delle parole Orinochesi somiglianti alle nostre. IV. Osservazioni generali sulle lingue dell'Orinoco. V. Della pronunzia delle lingue Orinochesi. VI. Osservazioni più particolari sulle lingue Orinochesi; ove trattasi delle parti dell'orazione, e primariamente del nome. VII. De' pronomi, de' verbi, e de' participi. VIII. Dell'altre parti dell'orazione. IX. Saggio della lingua Tamanaca. X. Saggio della lingua Maipure. XI. Riflessioni sulle lingue Orinochesi. XII. Se le lingue Orinochesi sien molte? XIII. Saggio di due brevi ragionamenti nelle lingue degli Orinochesi (pp. 135–211).

Catalogo di alcune voci in cinque lingue matrici dell'Orinoco per conoscerne la diversità (pp. 212–13).⁹

Cataloghi di alcune lingue Americane per farne il confronto tra loro, e con queste del nostro emisfero (pp. 355–85).¹⁰

The chapter entitled *Saggio della lingua Maipure* is a six-page description of Maipure morphology in terms of Latin grammar, a framework which causes a certain degree of distortion. Very little information may be obtained from the other two parts of the work or from its appendices, which contain only few words and fragments of the language.

⁷ I.e. the year the Jesuits were expelled from all the lands of the Crown of Spain.

⁸ For information about Gilij and his *Saggio di storia americana*, see del Rey Fajardo (1971, 1:331–52), Olza (1992), and Villalón (1995). For biobibliographical information on Hervás y Panduro, see in particular Caballero (1868). For a survey of Gilij's and Hervás y Panduro's contribution to comparative linguistics, see Campbell (1997:31–34).

⁹ 15 items in Saliva, Yaruro, Tamanaco, Maipure, and Otomaco.

¹⁰ The languages of these "catalogues" are Classical Quechua, Classical Nahuatl, Chiquit(an)o, Guaraní, Lule, Vilela, Kadiwéu (Mbaya), Mojo, Omagua, Tamanaco, Maipure, Saliva, Mapuche (Araucanian), Huron, and Algonquin.

- M2: Hervás y Panduro (1787b:110–11) contains a translation of the Lord's Prayer accompanied by a few grammatical notes.

There are two other minor sources.

- M3: Gilij (1780) includes, interspersed throughout, names of flora and fauna and some sentences.
- M4: Gilij (1781) contains scattered words and sentences, but also an account of the counting system (pp. 333–35).

Six further sources fail to provide additional grammatical data on Maipure.

- M5: Hervás y Panduro (n.d.a) is essentially a rewrite of chapters IV–VI of the third part of M1 on the Orinoco languages.¹¹
- M6: Hervás y Panduro (n.d.b) is essentially a rewrite of the abovementioned *Saggio della lingua Maipure*.¹²
- M7: Hervás y Panduro (1786:104) records the numerals from 'one' to 'six', and 'ten', 'eleven', and 'twenty', which are also in M4, plus 'forty' and 'sixty'.
- M8: Hervás y Panduro (1785) provides us with six words and an obviously inaccurate verb paradigm which are not present in the other sources, plus another 22 words (*Tavola aggiunta Numero XI. al paragrafo 98, Numero XII. al numero 98, Numero XIII. al numero 98*).
- M9: Hervás y Panduro (1787a) includes a 59-word list the basis of which is Gilij's "catalogue" of 194 lexical items in M1: 51 items are common to both word lists; only three do not appear attested elsewhere.
- M10: The seventh book of Alexander von Humboldt's *Voyage aux Régions Equinoxiales du Nouveau Continent* (work first published in Paris in 1805–1834 in 35 volumes) contains scraps of Maipure and Yavitero ("Parene"; see note 16) in the form of a short comparative word list (chapter 21). The Maipure items included were taken by the famous German naturalist and explorer from Gilij's and Hervás y Panduro's writings, but seven words, added in parentheses, were recorded by Humboldt himself in 1800 from a young Maco man who knew the language. Note, however, that only four of these forms find an exact equivalent in the remaining Maipure material in our possession; and that altogether three words appear phonotactically improbable in Maipure (viz. at least badly transcribed) because of their unexpected consonant endings (see §2.5.1): *kjepurwig* 'sun', *popetas* 'one', *yalivac* 'four' (Gilij, respectively: *chiè*, *papèta*, *apèapèchipachi*).

1.3 External relationships

1.3.1 Maipure and the Maipuran languages

It was Father Filippo Salvatore Gilij who first perceived the genetic relationship between Maipure and a number of languages (including Avane,¹³ Cavere,¹⁴ Guipunave,¹⁵ and Yavitero ("Parene")¹⁶

spoken within the areas of the Orinoco, the Río Negro, and the Amazon ("Maragnone") basins. He also realized that the ancestor of this group of languages no longer existed, except in the form of its descendant languages.

Dicasi proporzionalmente de' *Maipuri*. Chi sa la loro lingua, può di leggieri parlare cogli *Avani*. Stenterà più a capire i *Càveri*, i *Guipunàvi*, i *Parenì* e gli altri. Ma il fondo di queste lingue è il, medesimo, come il medesimo è quello, onde il nostro favellare deriva, e quello de' Francesi (M1, p. 202).

However, in the following passage, the language of the Maipure is also considered by Gilij to be a language of which Avane, Cavere, Guipunave, Yavitero, and cognate varieties (Meepure,¹⁷ Quirrupa,¹⁸ Achagua,¹⁹ and others) are simply dialectal variations.

La [lingua] *Maipure* ha i seguenti [dialetti], l'*Avane*, il *Meepure*, il *Càvere*, il *Parène*, il *Guipunave*, il *Chirrupa*, e molti altri linguaggi nascosti nell'alto Orinoco, nel Río-Negro, e nel Maragnone. E' certo in oggi, e così pensollo ancora il Gumilla è certo dico, che l'*Acciagua* è un dialetto del *Maipure* (M1, p. 205).²⁰

At any rate, this statement of the missionary became the basis for the subsequent application of the term "Maipuran" (or the less common "Maipurean" as in Suárez 1974 and Kaufman 1993) to a grouping (stock) of undoubtedly related speech forms, also known in the literature as Arawak(an), that altogether contains about 65 documented languages (Campbell 1997:178) (the largest number of languages belonging to a single group in South America) and geographically spans four countries of Central America—Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua—and seven of South America—Bolivia, Guyana, French Guiana, Suriname, Colombia, Peru, Brazil (and formerly Argentina and Paraguay) (Aikhenvald 1999:65). (The basic subgrouping of Maipuran shown in fig. 1 is that proposed in Kaufman 1993.)

Gilij's *Saggio di storia americana* indicate a possible affiliation with the languages of the Northern division of Maipuran (see fig. 1) but, because there are only three words recorded for Cavere in this source—<Purrùnaminari> 'supreme being' or, simply, the name of a cultural hero also present in the mythical stories of the Maipure, Avane, Guipunave (M3, p. 6), Achagua (see Rivero 1883:113), and Piapoco (see González Nález 1989:77), <scema> 'tobacco', and <sciapa> 'mountain' (M1, p. 202; <sc(i)> = [ʃ]); Maipure *jéma* and *jápa*, Baniwa of Içana *dzéma* and *hidzapa*, Guarequena *déma* and *dápa*)—I suggest that Cavere should remain unclassified on a lower taxonomic level.

¹⁵ Another extinct language spoken around 1760 by 200 or 300 people located along the left bank of the Orinoco and along the Guaviare and Atabapo Rivers (Colombia). Its only recorded words, at least by Gilij, besides <Purrùnaminari> (M3, p. 6; see note 14), are a greeting, <bare nau> (see §1.6.2); a Spanish loan, <cujaŕuta> 'paper' (<carta>); and three nouns that appear to belong to a Northern Maipuran language, <dema> 'tobacco' (M1, p. 202), <dapa> 'mountain' (M1, p. 202), and <unè> 'k.o. skin disease' (M3, p. 62), incidentally two of which, <dema> and <dapa> are identical to their Guarequena (Guarequena-Mandahuaca sub-branch) equivalents.

¹⁶ A recently extinct language, closely related to Maipure (see fig. 3), once spoken in the Atabapo basin in the border area of Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil. The last known speaker died in 1984.

¹⁷ This "dialect", once spoken along the Ventuari River, has disappeared leaving no data.

¹⁸ Still another extinct language once spoken, as well as Maipure, along the Venezuelan river of Autana (cf. M3, p. 128). No data exists for it, except perhaps the name of a skin disease (Sp. *carate*), <unè>, an item shared with Maipure, Avane, and Guipunave (see note 15 and table 2).

¹⁹ See §1.6.2.

²⁰ Really, although the Spanish Jesuit José Gumilla (1688–1750) perceived lexical similarities between Achagua and Maipure, he attributed these resemblances entirely to borrowing, excluding the possibility of a common origin: "... de la [lingua] Achagua, aunque es la más pronunciable, suave y elegante de todas, ... no se han descubierto lenguajes derivados; porque, aunque en la lengua maypure se hallan muchas palabras achaguas, son introducidas por el comercio, como los gracialismos de la lengua latina, que se introdujeron con el estudio de las ciencias y facultades que en ella se explican" (Gumilla [1745] 1945:298).

¹¹ A Spanish translation of this work appears in del Rey Fajardo (1971, 2:289–310).

¹² del Rey Fajardo (1971, 2) also contains a Spanish translation of this manuscript (pp. 311–16) erroneously entitled "Elementos gramaticales de la lengua yarura".

¹³ See §1.4.

¹⁴ Cavere (Cabere, Cabre) was once spoken along the Guaviare River (Colombia; cf. M3, p. 130) and, probably on the basis of geographical proximity, has been placed by Loukotka (1968:130) in the same subgroup containing Achagua, Piapoco, and Amarizana (the Caquetio grouping). The data available in

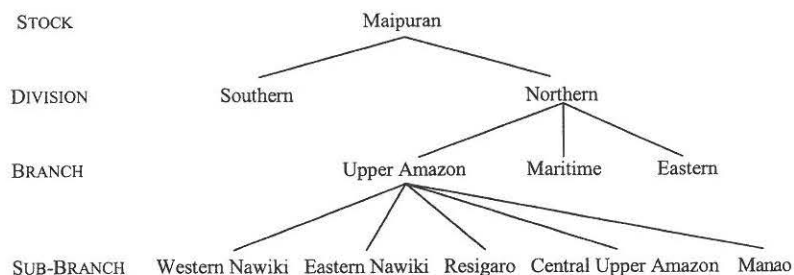


FIGURE 1: THE NORTHERN DIVISION OF MAIPURAN LANGUAGES

Within Maipuran, Maipure is said by Kaufman (1993:57) to be one of the few members of the Central Upper Amazon sub-branch of Upper Amazon (Northern division), which is a large set of languages (about 40) that, at the time of the conquest of the New World, extended from the Paraguaná peninsula (Venezuela) in the north to the Juruá River (Brazil) in the south. In the east, these languages were spoken at the foot of the Cordillera Oriental in Colombia and extended to the junction of the Solimões River with the Río Negro (Brazil). In particular, according to Kaufman (1993), Maipure constitutes a separate division of the Central Upper Amazon grouping, which contains two other divisions and which can be represented by the *Stammbaum* in fig. 2. (A dagger indicates an extinct language.)

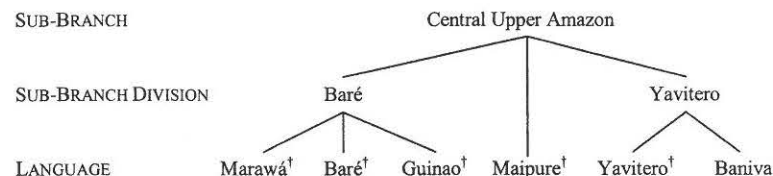


FIGURE 2: THE CENTRAL UPPER AMAZON SUB-BRANCH OF NORTHERN AMAZON

Note that the position of the Marawá language shown in fig. 2 has been extrapolated by Kaufman purely on the basis of the meagre data in Loukotka (1968).²¹ Table 1 gives a selection of common Maipure lexical items and their Baré, Guináo, Marawá, Yavitero, and Baniva equivalents along with Proto-Maipuran (P-M) reconstructions found in Payne (1991). Using data from von Martius (1867), this comparison makes it clear that Marawá does not show a special resemblance to any other language involved.²²

²¹ In the nineteenth century, Marawá was spoken between the Juruá and Juraí Rivers, in the state of Amazonas in Brazil.

²² The other sources of data used include Cunha de Oliveira (1993) (Baré), Aikhenvald (1998) (Baniva), Koch-Grünberg (1911) (Baré and Baniva), Koch-Grünberg (1928) (Guináo), Mosonyi (1987) (Yavitero), Mosonyi and Mosonyi (2000) (Baniva), and Schomburgk (1848) (Guináo). Correspondences among the items may be (more or less) regular except for those segments enclosed in square brackets, which may

TABLE 1: CENTRAL UPPER AMAZON COMPARISONS

P-M	Maipure	Baré	Guináo	Marawá	Yavitero	Baniva	Gloss
*dana[p ^h a]	-aná	-dána	-dána	-eǵé	-kánu	-ánu	'arm'
*k ^h uere	kuli[kini]	táini	kawaháuku	kuri[hi]	múmu	fére	'black'
*[da]keni[aku]	-[a]kiní	-[dá]tini	-[dá]zini	-[tá]ki	-[tá]sine	-[tá:]ni[pala]	'ear'
*nika	-éka	-ni	—	—	-e ~ -éna	-e	'eat'
*[l]uki/e	-[pu][l]ikí	-witi	-wízi	-aku[si]	-[hú][l]isi	-[pú:]l]i	'eye'
*dikah[tsi]	ká[ti]	kaméni	tǵé:ke	irisi	ká[l]i	á:[f]i	'fire'
*hima	tima[kí]	kubáti	ka:dǵépe	emé	líma	fíme	'fish'
*k ^h api	-kápi	-k ^h ábi	-kábi	-kabe[sui]	-káha[hi]	-ápi	'hand'
*kiwi	-kibu[kú]	-dúsia	tǵéwe	-síwi	-síhu	-ibu	'head'
*maba	mápa	mába	mába	—	máha	mába	'honey'
*numa	-numa[kú]	-núma	-nú:ma	-numa[ku]	-núma	-núma	'mouth'
*kenu	-inú	-n ^h u	-wápe	-tu	-ínu	-inú[pi]	'neck'
*ahbija	apiá	había	weǵízi	—	ahíja	a:bída	'peccary'
*ahtini	ané[pu]	diná[bu]	tená:[bu]	—	tané[hu]	tené[pu]	'road'
*jenuh[ki]	énu	énu	wé:nu	ihíakute	énu	énu	'sky'
*imaka	-íma	-[d]úma	-[d]ema:ka	-[t]jemeka	-[ts]íma	-[t]íma	'sleep'
*k ^h iba	kípa	tíba	zǵ:ba	kúba	síha	í:pa	'stone'
*kema	kiéma	téma	tsé:ma	káma	kéma	éma	'tapir'
*jima[de]	jéma	áli	—	—	jéma	é:li	'tobacco'
*ahtse	-éti	-áhai	-á:he	-atú	-éǵi	-áǵi	'tooth'
*anda[mí][na]	aá	áda	da[mú:]na	ukauǵukawa	áta	á:ta[pi]	'tree'
*uni	wéni	úni	ú:ni	úni	wéni	wéni	'water'

1.3.2 Closest genetic relations

The possibility that Maipure, Baré,²³ Guináo,²⁴ Yavitero,²⁵ and Baniva²⁶ form a single genetic unit cannot at present be confirmed. Although a summary comparison of these languages reveals the

constitute morphs either synchronically or at some previous stage of the language. Non-cognate forms, also included, are given in italics. For ease of comparison, I use here a phonemic transcription for the forms of Baré, Guináo, Marawá, Yavitero, and Baniva and the Proto-Maipuran protoforms that shows the palatal glide as *j*, the voiceless alveolar affricate as *ts*, and the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate as *tʃ*. Finally, note that the rendering of the Guináo and Marawá forms is only approximate.

²³ Baré was spoken by several thousand people in the Upper Río Negro region of Brazil and Venezuela. Its last known fluent speaker (in Brazil) died in 1992.

²⁴ Guináo (or Guinau) was once spoken near the sources of the Caura and Merevari Rivers, in the state of Bolívar in Venezuela.

²⁵ See note 16.

²⁶ Baniva (or Baniwa of Guainia) has about 400 speakers (out of a population of 1,200) on the Venezuelan side of the border with Colombia (mainly in the village of Maroa, Amazonas) and in Colombia itself (along the Caño Aquí, a tributary of the Río Guainía; Mosonyi and Mosonyi 2000:185). There are also reported to be a few dozen speakers of the Warekena dialect of Baniva in Brazil, in nine communities along the Xie river (a tributary of the Río Negro), but these speakers are all bilingual in (Tupian) Nheengatú and no longer use Warekena for everyday communication, despite it being their first language (Aikhenvald 1998:225).

existence of a few lexical innovations which seem to be restricted to these languages, the evidence is not strong enough to exclude the possibility that these sporadic agreements are due to diffusion rather than common ancestry. In the lexical data available to me, I have found one apparent lexical innovation reflected in all five abovementioned languages and another two in Baré, Guinao, Baniva, and Yavitero. These apparent innovations are:

- ‘jaguar’: *kuatsi (Baré *kuáti*, Maipure *kuatiki*, Yavitero *kuáili*, Baniva *wáfi* ‘jaguar’; Guinao *kua:zi* ‘dog’). Irregularity: the Baré form has *t* for expected *h*/____*i < *ts.²⁷
- ‘star’: *winali (Baré *winadi*, Guinao *juwindi*, Yavitero *wiwinali*, Baniva *wimináli*). Irregularity: the correspondence Baré *d* : Yavitero *l* : Baniva *l* is aberrant. Cf. Baniwa of Içana *hiwili* and Yucuna *hiwili*. (The Maipure word for ‘star’, *urípu*, seems to be a loan from Piapoco; see §1.6.2.)
- ‘wind’: *witi (Baré *hawisi*, Guinao *hawidji*, Yavitero *uwitsi*, Baniva *witsi*; Maipure *kipukú*.)

Another conclusion that can be drawn by comparing Baré, Guinao, Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva is that the first two languages, on the one hand, and the remaining three languages, on the other, seem to constitute effective sub-branches of Northern Maipuran. Below, I present some lexical evidence for a grouping of Baré and Guinao excluding Maipure, Yavitero, Baniva, and probably all the other documented Maipuran languages, and a grouping of Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva excluding Baré and Guinao (as well as any other known member of the Maipuran stock) for which I propose the name Maipure-Yavitero.

BARÉ LEXICAL INNOVATIONS:

- ‘agouti’: *wajulu (Baré *wajúlu*, Guinao *wajulúmidji*).
- ‘earth’: *kadi (Baré *k’ádi*, Guinao *kádi*). Cf. Piapoco *káli* and Cabiyaí *ta:kali*.
- ‘eye’: *witji (Baré *-witi*, Guinao *-wizi*; Proto-Maipuran *[l]uki/e).²⁸
- ‘fruit’: *buku (Baré *-babúku*, Guinao *-búku*).
- ‘man’: *henali (Baré *hénali*, Guinao *hé:nale*). Cf. Yavitero *énami*, Baniva *é:nami*, and Proto-Maipuran *ahjeni.
- ‘skin’: *ida (Baré *-ida*, Guinao *-i:da*). Cf. Proto-Maipuran *idama.
- ‘night’: *he:binama (Baré *hebinama*, Guinao *he:banamekali*). Cf. Baniwa of Içana and Tariana *dé:pi* ‘night’ and Proto-Maipuran *tjabu.

MAIPURE-YAVITERO LEXICAL INNOVATIONS:

- ‘before’: *piadu (Maipure *-piáu*, Baniva *-piátu*).
- ‘manioc (plant and bread)’: *pusi (Maipure *úsi*, Avane [§1.4] *púsi*, Yavitero *ahúsi*).
- ‘come’: *nupa (Maipure *-núa*, Yavitero *-núha*, Baniva *-núpa*).
- ‘eye’: *puliki (Maipure *-puliki*, Yavitero *-hiúlisi*, Baniva *-pú:li*; Proto-Maipuran *[l]uki/e).
- ‘lake’: *kawija (Maipure *kawíá* ‘lake’, Yavitero [Koch-Grünberg 1911] *kabija*, Baniva *awijá* ‘swamp’; Proto-Maipuran *kale[sa]).
- ‘son’: *dani (Maipure *-áni*, Yavitero *-táintani*, Baniva *-táni*).
- ‘tongue’: *dale (Maipure *-á.le*, Baniva *-tá.le*). Cf. Proto-Baré *dale ‘lip’ (Baré *-dálebi*, Guinao *-daleha*; Proto-Maipuran *tjira ‘lip’).
- ‘water’: *weni (Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva *wéni*; Proto-Maipuran *uni).

A shared morphological innovation identified for Maipure-Yavitero concerns the use of the same form for the second and third person plural: *ni- (Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva *ni-*; Proto-Maipuran *hi- ‘2pl’ and *na- ‘3pl’). Also characteristic of Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva is the use of the morpheme *-li* to mark relative clauses as well as WH-questions when the question constituent

is the subject or the object (see Mosonyi 1987:79, Aikhenvald 1998:261, and section §3.8.3.1 of the present work).

Within the Maipure-Yavitero sub-branch, on the basis of the retention of *d and the non-preservation (assibilation to [s] in Yavitero, loss in Baniva) of *k before *i, the inclination would be to group Yavitero and Baniva together and assume that they derive from a common language, Proto-Yavitero.

- *dana ‘arm’ (Proto-Maipuran *dana[p^ha]) > Maipure *-aná*, Proto-Yavitero *tana ‘wing’ (Yavitero *-tánahasi*, Baniva *-tanápi*).
- *danepu ‘road’ (Proto-Maipuran *ahtini) > Maipure *anépu*, Proto-Yavitero *tanepu (Yavitero *tanéhu*, Baniva *tanépu*).
- *dakini ‘ear’ (Proto-Maipuran *[da]keni[aku]) > Maipure *-akini*, Proto-Yavitero *tasini (Yavitero *-tásine*, Baniva *-tá:nipa.la*).
- *kiba ‘stone’ (Proto-Maipuran *k^hiba) > Maipure *kípa*, Proto-Yavitero *sipa (Yavitero *siha*, Baniva *i:pa*).

Moreover, supporting lexical evidence exists that suggests Yavitero and Baniva constitute a single subgroup; compare the following shared innovations and retentions.

SHARED INNOVATIONS:

- ‘arm’: *kanu (Yavitero *-kánu*, Baniva *-ánu*; Maipure *-aná*). Cf. Proto-Maipuran *danap^ha ‘arm’.
- ‘rib’: *patape (Yavitero *-hátahe*, Baniva *-pátape*; Maipure *-paá*). Cf. Baré *-báda* ‘rib’.
- ‘two’: *naba (Yavitero *tsináha*, Baniva *-nába*; Maipure *a- -nume*). Cf. Proto-Maipuran *api.

SHARED RETENTIONS:

- ‘fish’: Proto-Maipuran *hima > *tsima (Yavitero *jíma*, Baniva *jíme*; Maipure *timaki*).
- ‘head’: Proto-Maipuran *kibu > *sibu (Yavitero *-síhu*, Baniva *-ibu*; Maipure *-kibukú*).
- ‘red’: Proto-Maipuran *kira > *sira (Yavitero *sita*, Baniva *ila*; Maipure *kajuméni*).

Further study would undoubtedly lengthen these two lists as it would the list of the Maipure-Yavitero shared lexical innovations given above.

1.4 Avane

On the basis of M1, one may conclude that the language of the Maipure was also spoken with slight phonetic variations by the Avane (probable autonym [awáni], Sp. *Abane*), a distinct group located in the contact period along the Autana and Sipapo Rivers in the Venezuelan state of Amazonas.

La lingua degli *Avani* non è diversa che in . . . sconciature da quella de’ *Maipuri*. È rozza la prima, di pronuncia gutturale, e per dire in breve, storpiata in tutto. Gentile la seconda, di bella, e grata pronunzia, e tale in somma, che sembra avere di primitivo candore ogni segno (p. 203).²⁹

Even from the small number of words made available by Gilij, it is clear that, despite a remarkable similarity in vocabulary (see table 2) and morphology (see notes 51, 90, 91, and 93), the speech of the Avane deviates from that of the Maipure with respect to phonetics. The most noteworthy phonetic features that characterize Avane in comparison with Maipure are the use of the dental stop [d] (foreign to Maipure, but native to Yavitero and Baniva) and that of the glottal fricative [h] in contexts in which other consonants ([t], [k], and [j]) occur in Maipure (viz. before [i] and/or [a]).³⁰ As well, the diphthongs [ai] and [au] in Avane are apparently never contracted when they occur in a

²⁷ Cf. Proto-Maipuran *manatsi ‘k.o. ant’ > Baré *manáhi*; Proto-Maipuran *ahtse ‘tooth’ > *atsi > Baré *-áhai*. Other developments of the ‘mesoform’ *atsi are Yavitero *-éli* and Baniva *-áfi*.

²⁸ *k became *t* in Baré and *j* in Guinao before a high central or front vowel.

²⁹ Cf. also the passages from M1, p. 202, reproduced in the preceding section §1.3.1.

³⁰ Following the Spanish orthographic practice, [h] is spelt by Gilij <x> and <j>.

TABLE 2: COMPARING THE ATTESTED AVANE WORDS TO OTHER NORTHERN MAIPURAN LANGUAGES

Avane	Maipure	Yavitero	Baniva	Baré	Guinao	Gloss
<javaxi>	jawatí	tsúwa	tsúwa	épi	malía	'axe'
<pussi>	úsi	ahúsi	ká:ka	kúsi	tsá:li	'manioc bread'
<casimeje>	—	—	—	—	—	'a dance'
<Diòsu>	piúsu ¹	díu	diútsu	diúsu	—	'God'
<ada>	ája	tája	tája	dajáma	zi:ba ²	'grater'
<tamáu>	tamáu ³	ja nehéja	šájale	ihíwana	—	'he went'
<nuxa>	núja	núja	núja	núni	—	'I'
<nuxacáu>	nutakáu ⁴	nujá	nušá	nihíwa	—	'I go'
<nujutuà>	—	nukáinta	—	^h numísi	—	'I smoke'
<quaxixi> ⁵	kuatiki	kuáiji	wáji	kuáti	manukáne:	'jaguar'
<Metimetichini>	—	—	—	—	—	'Maipure' ⁶
<napài>	napái ⁷	núhi	nuLuámi	nujákali	mbá:ba	'my father'
<unè>	uné	garéji ⁸	—	—	—	'k.o. skin disease'
<Purrùnaminári>	purunaminári ⁹	—	—	—	—	'supreme being'
<yerna>	jéma	jéma	é:li	áli	í:li	'tobacco'
<inioxi>	tiniuki ¹⁰	jalínemi	nejawa	hinátjati	hénau	'woman'
<saje>, <ja>	u u	éhe	é:he	éhe	áha	'yes'

SOURCES OF AVANE WORDS: M1 (pp. 6 and 153–203, *passim*) and M3 (pp. 62 and 284).

NOTES:

¹ [piósu]

² = 'stone'

³ Variant form: *tamú* [tamó] (see §2.7).

⁴ Variant form: *nutakú* [nutakó] (see §2.7).

⁵ Also spelt by Gilij <quajiji>.

⁶ Nickname (§1.1).

⁷ Variant form: *napé* (see §2.7).

⁸ < Sp. *carate*

⁹ [pur:ùnamináli] (see note 14).

¹⁰ [tinioki]

stressed syllable as happens in Maipure (in rapid speech presumably). These observations are in part confirmed by the following two statements by Gilij.

Passiamo alle parole, che abbisognano di pronunzia Spagnuola. Molte non possono pronunziarsi senza il sussidio del *jota* proprio di questa lingua. . . [Nella lingua] de' *Maipuri* vi si trova talvolta. Ma nell'*Avane*, dialetto del *Maipure*, ed in altre lingue, è frequentissimo . . . (M1, pp. 155–56).

Nel *Maipure* sono naturali non men, che frequenti i dittonghi *ai*, ed *au*: *napai*, padre, *tamau*, andò &c. Questi dittonghi da' veri *Maipuri* vengono pronunziati con esattezza ed equivalgono alle voci, *napè*, *tamò* &c.. Ma gli *Avani*, gente rozza, e più goffa, gli sciolgono assai frequentemente, con dire a bocca piena *napài*, *tamáu* &c. (M1, pp. 156).

On the whole, however, the points of divergence noted do not appear to be very significant. It can be seen in table 2 that all the Avane and Maipure lexical items which are not phonetically identical are still acoustically very similar. But since the number of words that may be used for a comparison with Maipure and other closely related languages is extremely small, it is impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion about the status of Avane. It is only safe to say that Avane and Maipure belong to the Maipure-Yavitero sub-branch of the Upper Amazon branch of Northern Maipuran languages

and that they are more closely related to each other than to the other documented languages of their sub-branch (see the *Stammbaum* in fig. 3).

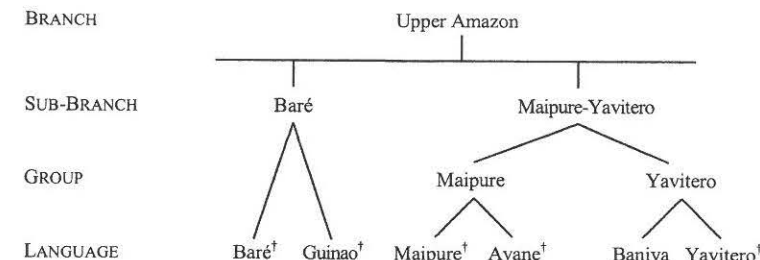


FIGURE 3: LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS OF MAIPURE AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

1.5 Sex differences in speech

Two particles are reportedly used exclusively by members of one sex: *nau*, or *no*, by men, and *mau*, or *mò*, by women (M1, p. 161). Presumably, these two particles were used with the function of marking male/female speech, in a manner analogous to the sex-exclusive morphemes of some Cariban languages of the region (such as Tamanaco, Carib, and Avaricoto).

Ma se loro [gli Orinchesi] mancano i generi, hanno però delle particole distinguenti il sesso di quei, che parlano. I maschi Tamanachi, a cagion di esempio, interpongono sempre al parlare la particola *uè*: *patcurbe ure uè*; io sono buono: *maje uè*, andiamo &c. Le loro donne all'opposto costumano il *me*: *maje me* &c. I maschi Caribi per particola distintiva hanno il *se*: gli Avaricotti il *ce*. *Nau*, o *no* è il distintivo de' Maipuri: *mau*, o *mò* è quello delle donne. Atteso ciò, credo che gli altri Indiani pure abbiano delle somiglianti espressioni nelle lor lingue (M1, p. 161).

1.6 Language contact

1.6.1 Extra-Maipuran borrowing

The vocabulary of Maipure shows significant contact with Cariban, especially in the semantic domains of flora and fauna. Consider the following Maipure forms in relation to Tamanaco and Carib lexemes:³¹ *uluí* 'cashew tree', Tamanaco *woroi*, Carib *o:roi*; *kulukái* 'copaiba balsam', Tamanaco *marana*, Carib *kurukai*; *wisisi* 'k.o. duck', Tamanaco *witšifšif*, Carib *wisisi*; *kurúmu* 'black vulture', Tamanaco *kirimu*, Carib *kuru:mu*; *sipalali* 'iron', Tamanaco *parari*, Carib *siparari*; *palána* 'sea' and *paráwa* 'Orinoco', Tamanaco *parawa* 'sea', Carib *para:na* 'sea'; *kilisi* 'smallpox', Tamanaco *kirišifšif*, Carib *kiresi*.

A trace of Saliva vocabulary in the language is perhaps the word *jumuki* [jomuki] 'maize' (Saliva *džomo*, Piaroa *ja?muh*).³²

³¹ Tamanaco was once spoken in a zone delimited by the rivers Maniapure and Cuchivero (right tributaries of the Middle Orinoco) in the present day state of Bolívar of Venezuela.

³² In Yavitero, 'maize' is *kána* (cf. Tariana *kána* and Baniwa of Içana *ká:na*), in Baniva it is *makánatsi* (cf. Baré *makánasi*).

Loans from European languages are all from Spanish and they have not affected the basic vocabulary; some examples: *misí* 'cat', Spanish *micho*; *solálu* [solálo] 'soldier', Spanish *soldado*; *pále* 'Father, missionary', Spanish *padre*; *piusu* [piósu] 'God', Spanish *Dios*; *piéta* 'holiday', Spanish *fiesta*; *sáju* [sájo] 'salt', Spanish *sal*; *aláta* 'banana plant', Spanish *plátano*;³³ *patia* 'watermelon', Spanish *patilla*.³⁴

1.6.2 Intra-Maipuran borrowing

Lexical transfers from neighbouring Maipuran languages to Maipure are specifically attested and exemplified in Gilij's *Saggio di storia americana*. But what we learn from this source is only that Maipure has received two response words from Avane, while it is said to have borrowed one greeting from Guipunave.

L'avverbio affermativo sì poche nazioni lo hanno. Gli Avani, e per imitazione alcuni de' Maipuri dicono *saje*, oppure all'uso Tedesco *ja* (M1, p. 174).

Al primo ingresso [nelle lor case], in alta voce, e maschile dicono, *bare nau*; ed è un saluto de' Guipunavi usato da' Maipuri per festevole imitazione (M4, p. 202).

Another eighteenth century source, José Gumilla's *El Orinoco ilustrado y defendido* (Madrid, 1745), contains an indication that the Maipure, before their resettlement in the two Middle Orinoco *reducciones*, were in contact with the Achagua, and suggests that the Maipure extensively borrowed words from the language of this group (see note 20).³⁵ Linguistic evidence for such contact appears in the form of a few lexical items that are clear loanwords from Achagua (a member of the Piapoco group of the Western Nawiki sub-branch of Northern Maipuran languages, according to Kaufman 1993:58) on the basis of the distributional criterion of the absence of cognates in Baniva and Yavitero: *matibe* 'be bad', Achagua *má:fibe*: 'evil'; *kawita* 'gold', Achagua *kabida*; *suwita* 'pauxi, helmeted curassow', Achagua *subita*. In particular, the Maipure form *matibe* was almost certainly copied from Achagua, since the Achagua form is morphologically transparent (*má:fí*- 'bad' + *-be*: 'nominalizer'; Wilson 1992:51) while the Maipure one is opaque, i.e. monomorphemic.

Piapoco, the closest extant relative of Achagua, also seems to have contributed a significant number of words to Maipure.³⁶ According to the oral history of the Piapoco, this group came into close contact with the Maipure who were living along the Autana River (see González Náñez 1989:84). Some examples of loanwords from the Piapoco language are as follows: *uléwa* 'parrot', Piapoco *duléwa* 'guajibo' (k.o. parrot); *urúpu* 'star', Piapoco *dilupüta*; *panakalè* 'planted', Piapoco *-bànakale* 'planted field'; *-seka* 'paint', Piapoco *-saká*.³⁷ The noun *-bànakare*, transparently

³³ Borrowing might have come through the Achagua word *paláta* (Fabo 1911:198; see §1.6.2) rather than directly from Spanish. Names for the banana in some other languages of the region (not only Maipuran) are *halátana* (Yavitero), *palátana* (Baniva), *pálatuna* (Piapoco), *balá:tuna* (Guahibo), and *hik"etena pa:tuna* (Saliba).

³⁴ The spreading into Maipure of an evident American Spanish word like *patilla* 'watermelon' indicates that Spanish loanwords came from a spoken dialect and not from the standard variety.

³⁵ The Achagua were once widely spread throughout Venezuela and eastern Colombia. In terms of political divisions of the 1920s, Salas (1921) locates them in the Venezuelan states of Bolívar, Guárico, Zamora, and Bermúdez. They lived at the confluence of the Meta and Orinoco Rivers, between the Apure, Meta, and Orinoco Rivers, between some of the tributaries of the Meta River, in particular the Uribante and Arauca Rivers, and on the southern side of the Guaviare River adjoining the Guahibo and Saliva. Nowadays, the Achagua (about 200 people) only occupy the plains along the Meta River near Puerto Gaitan (Colombia).

³⁶ Piapoco is currently spoken by about 3,100 people living along the lower Vichada, Meta, and Guaviare Rivers on the eastern plains of Colombia.

³⁷ The acute and grave accents of Piapoco words signal phonemic high and low pitch respectively.

morphologically complex (*-bàna* 'plant (v.)' + *-kale* 'nominalizer'; Klumpp 1990:72), became an unanalyzable adjective in Maipure. Not unexpectedly, when Piapoco lexemes containing the alveolar stop [d] were borrowed into Maipure (which does not use this sound), the [d] was lost.

Since Piapoco and Achagua have a large number of cognate words which are identical or very similar in shape, it is not always possible to determine from which of the two languages a particular borrowing originated: Maipure *áuli* 'dog', Achagua *áuli*, Piapoco *áuli*; Maipure *jamanáli* 'iguana', Achagua *tjamánali*, Piapoco *tjâmanàli*.

1.7 The present study

This contribution is the outcome of my desire to present *all* the knowledge that I have been able to gather from *all* the surviving material of the extinct Maipure language. Included are, therefore, chapters on phonology and morphosyntax, texts, and also a word list (appendix B).

For phonology, as for some aspects of morphosyntax, the Maipure corpus is too restricted to always reach definite conclusions. Any statement about Maipure phonology in particular must be considered tentative. The possibility exists, however, of comparing the language with a number of living relatives for which grammars and, sometimes, dictionaries are available; this allows us to interpret the limited eighteenth century Maipure material to an extent and with a sureness (generally speaking) that would be unobtainable with an exclusively inductive approach.

2 Phonology

In this chapter, the Maipure phonemes, their distribution, and some morphophonemic changes are described.

2.1 Consonants

2.1.1 Chart of consonant phonemes

There seem to be six obstruent phonemes, /p b t k s h/, and six sonorants, /m n l r w j/.

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p	t			k	
voiced stop	b					
fricative		s				h
nasal	m	n				
lateral flap			l			
trill			r			
glide	w			j		

/h/ is the rare *jota* mentioned by Gilij (see §1.4) of which, however, no occurrence exists in the Maipure material in our possession. /r/ is a phonetically long phoneme:³⁸ *aráu* [ar:áu] ‘river turtle’, *urúta* [ur:úta] ‘bean’. Note also that /t, s, n/ are treated as dentals, rather than alveolars, because /t, s, n/ and /t, n/ respectively of the closely related Yavitero and Baniva have been identified as dental phonemes (see Mosonyi 1987:28; Mosonyi and Mosonyi 2000:188; and Aikhenvald 1998:399).

2.1.2 A contrast for stops

/p b/ /kipukú/ ‘wind’ vs. /kibukú/ ‘(his) head’

2.1.3 A contrast for rhotics

/l r/ /aláu/ ‘world’ vs. /aráu/ ‘river turtle’

³⁸ “Gli Orinochesi non raddoppiano ordinariamente le lettere. Ma la lingua de’ Maipùri vi è eccezione; poichè usano molto frequentemente la R doppia” (M1, p. 152).

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Chart of vowel phonemes

Maipure has a system of four vowels, apparently complicated by rare corresponding long vowels.

	front	central	back
high	i i:		u u:
mid	e e:		
low		a a:	

/u/ largely ranges freely around the mid-high back vowels [u] and [o]. It is realized as mid-back after an unstressed /i/ (except, so it seems, in *aniúke* ‘up’) or /u/: [tiɲioki] ‘woman’, [mawakió] ‘feverish person’, [kapaɬer:uó] ‘cockroach’. It is realized as high back word-initially (apart from the loanword *utumáku* [oɬomáku], an ethnonym): [uká] ‘rapids’, [ur:úka] ‘mouse’, [uɲuɲá] ‘all’.

Presumably, as in Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:27) and Baniva (Mosonyi and Mosonyi 2000:191), the basic realization of /e/ is [ɛ]; cf. /poéta/ ‘drunk’, pronounced very likely [poɛ́ta].³⁹

Examples of long vowels seem to be *nuki*: ‘my foot’, *se*: ‘armadillo’, *pe*: ‘scissors’, *a.rapi* ‘be upright’, and *nú.ra* ‘my belly’. Only one instance exists in the available Maipure material in which the short/long difference appears to distinguish two words (see §2.2.2 below). However, the impossibility of predicting the occurrence of all the suspected long vowels in our data, and the fact that the vowel length is phonemically significant in the majority of Maipuran languages (see Aikhenvald 1999:78), strongly suggest that vowel length is distinctive in Maipure, too.

2.2.2 Some contrasts for vowels

/i e/	/íka/	‘he shows’	vs.	/éka/	‘he eats’
/a e/	/náka/	‘I eat’	vs.	/néka/	‘you (pl.)/they eat’
/a u/	/iná/	‘my mother’	vs.	/inú/	‘his neck’
/i i:/	/ki/	‘in it’	vs.	/ki:/	‘his foot’

2.3 Representation of consonant and vowel phonemes

The attested segmental phonemes are written by Gilij as follows.

- The obstruents /p/, /b/, /t/, /k/, and /s/, the sonorants /m/, /n/, and /j/, and the short vowels /i/, /e/ and /a/, are represented *à la* Italian, therefore, /k/ excepted, with graphemes which do not differ from the phonemic transcriptions.
- The spellings of /k/ are <c> before /a/ and /u/, <ch> before front vowels, and <q> before the vowel clusters /ui/, /ua/, and /ue/.
- Occasionally, for /p/, /t/, /k/, and /s/, doubled graphemes are used: <-purichi> ~ <-ppuriki> ‘eye’, <-matisi> ~ <-mattisi> ‘small, little’, <-pacatià> ~ <-paccatià> ‘always’, <-usi> ~ <-ussi> ‘manioc’.
- The voiced alveolar lateral flap (“lateralized”, strictly speaking) is spelt <r>. This rhotic, found in most Northern Maipuran languages, is also found in some Yavitero and Baniva words that have similar or identical forms in Maipure where Gilij writes <r>.

³⁹ Word said by Gilij (M1, p. 146) to be homophonous with the Italian noun *poeta*.

Maipure	Yavitero	Baniva	
<-purichi>	-húlisi	-pú:li	'eye'
<jaràchi>	jaláki	jaláki	'yaraque' (intoxicating drink)
<jaranávi>	jalánawi	jalánawi	'White person' (Maipure: 'Portuguese')

- The voiced alveolar trill, that, as indicated in §2.1.1, was realized as phonetically long, is represented by <rr>.
- The bilabial glide /w/ is usually spelt <v> (nearly always intervocalically) and, marginally, following the Italian practice, <u>.⁴⁰

Maipure	Yavitero	Baniva	
<evachini>	téwa	té:wa	'yellow'
<cavi>	káwi	áwi	'hurt (v.)'
<veni> ~ <ueni>	wéni	wéni	'water'

- Two graphemes are assigned to /u/: <u> to the allophone [u], <o> to the allophone [o]. The use of <u> to represent (following also in this case the Italian orthographic norm) both /u/ and /w/, when followed by a vowel, is not ambiguous. In fact, comparison with other languages, such as Yavitero, indicates that <u> is consonantal when it occurs word-initially before a vowel and vocalic when it occurs between a consonant and a vowel.

Maipure	Yavitero	Baniva	
<uaja>	wája	wája	'we'
<uepi>	wéhi	wépi	'k.o. palm'
<quatchi>	kuáji	wáji	'jaguar'
<queti>	—	kuéji	'animal'

- Long vowels are represented with two adjacent identical vowel graphemes, at least in some cases.

Maipure	Achagua	Baniwa of Içana ⁴¹	Tariana ⁴²	
<-chii>	-i:	-hí:pa	-d ^h ipáma	'foot'
<see>	tfe:	—	je:	'armadillo'

In Hervás y Panduro's documents, the velar stop /k/ before front vowels and vowel clusters beginning with /u/ is usually spelt <k> and the palatal glide /j/, in accord with Spanish spelling, is always written <y>.

⁴⁰ Note that Gilij in his *Saggio di storia americana* also employs <v> to represent the bilabial glide of Tamanaco words (see Mattéi-Muller 1990:24–26). The use of <u> for an intervocalic /w/ seems to be limited to two nouns with the same root: *curricatiuári* 'compassionate man' and *curricatiuau* 'compassionate woman' (M1, p. 162).

⁴¹ Baniwa of Içana (or Kurripako) is spoken by 3,000–4,000 people along the Içana River and its tributaries in the border area of Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela.

⁴² A northern Maipuran language, closely related to Baniwa of Içana, spoken by about 100 (adult) people along the Vaupés river (Brazil).

2.4 Stress

Stress (generally marked in the original documents by a grave accent), exists in two degrees: primary stress and secondary stress.

Primary stress falls on the antepenultimate, penultimate, or final syllable of the word. It is a suprasegmental phoneme of Maipure, as shown by the following minimal pairs:

/kápi/	'his hand'	vs.	/kápi/	'you (sg.)'
/núpa/	'k.o. plant'	vs.	/nupá/	'he is born'

Secondary stress, not phonemic, seems to apply (avoiding sequences of two stressed syllables) to words of more than three syllables on one or, in the case of long words, more syllables to the left of the primary-stressed one. Consider, for example, the following forms from M1 and M4: *tumutúmu* 'catarrh, cold', *nutétakaná* 'my companion (male)', *nukumá.laki* 'my knee', *wasù.lenámi* 'his ghost', *apèapèkipaki* 'four', *kaànikiwakanèkini* 'married woman'.

The (final) position of the primary word stress can be derived in the sense that there are suffixes which always carry the main stress (see §2.6.2).

2.5 Phonotactics

2.5.1 Distribution of segmental phonemes

There are no word-final consonants. In initial position, all the attested consonant phonemes occur except /b/ and /r/ which, in our corpus, also do not occur initially in any stem.⁴³

The only consonantal sequences in the data (native vocabulary) are /nt/ and /lt/.⁴⁴ None of them are attested in more than one word: *ipuntá* 'beyond it', *wílti* 'white frost'.

The four short vowels (at least) occur in any position in a word.

The four short vowels can also occur in sequence. All possible sequences of two short vowels, except /ii/, /ee/, /eu/, and /ae/, are documented:

/ie/: *kié* 'sun', *upié* 'tomorrow', *kiéma* 'tapir', *nu-kieka-ká-u* 'I stand up';
 /ia/: *apiá* 'peccary', *kawiá* 'lake', *pía* 'you (sg.)', *awiamá* 'gourd';
 /iu/: *mapita-kiú* 'fugitive', *aniúke* 'up', *tiniuki* 'woman', *siú* 'bird';
 /ei/: *kéi* 'sweet potato';
 /ea/: *apeapekipaki* 'four';
 /ai/: *ai* 'chilli pepper', *napái* 'my father', *kulúkái* 'copaiba balsam', *kainá* 'sand, bank';
 /aa/: *aa* 'tree', *naá* 'if', *nu-taá* 'I give', *nu-paá* 'my rib';
 /au/: *áuka* 'traitor', *ta-má-u* 'he goes', *lauráu* 'k.o. bird', *aubali* 'tall, high';
 /ui/: *u.lúi* 'cashew', *maisuíni* 'bad, ugly', *kuíta* 'k.o. hut', *kuitúna* 'Raudal de Maipures';
 /ue/: *kuéti* 'wild animal', *jukuéti* 'needle', *puéta* 'drunk';
 /ua/: *nuá* 'he comes', *ikuá* 'then', *juáni* 'be near', *puaki* 'fever';
 /uu/: *kapateruú* 'cockroach'.

No more than three vowels occur in a sequence. Clusters of three vowels are rare, but clear examples do occur in the corpus:

⁴³ The Spanish *rezar* [r:εðár] 'say one's prayers', for example, is borrowed as *-aresa*, with a prosthetic vowel. /b/ in initial position is, really, restricted to one loan in our material, the Guipunave greetings expression *bále náu* (see §1.6.2).

⁴⁴ The cluster /nt/ occurs occasionally also in Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:31). In Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:402), syllables of the /Vn/ or /Vl/ structure are possible in rapid speech register only.

/aia/: *naia* ‘that one (non-feminine)’;
 /aiu/: *aiú* ‘yam’;
 /iau/: *piáu* ‘before it’.

2.5.2 Syllable structure

The Maipure syllable may be regarded as basically (C)V(V)(n/l). Almost every word in the corpus consists of at least two syllables.⁴⁵

2.6 Morphophonological changes

2.6.1 Segmental changes

Morphophonological segmental variation involves only vowels in Maipure. The morphophonological segmental changes that follow have been observed at the prefix-root boundary. (Note that prefixes contain only the short vowels /i/, /a/, and /u/ in Maipure, and that the changes in questions only concern roots beginning with a front vowel.)

- (a) /i/ + /e/ > /e/:
 pi- + -épua {2sg + canoe} > pépua ‘your canoe’
 ni- + -éka {2pl/3pl + eat} > néka ‘you/they eat’
- (b) /a/ + /i/ > /a/:
 ka- + -itu-kini {ATTR + mother-ATTR} > katukini ‘one who has a mother’
 ma- + -itu-teni {PRIV + mother-PRIV} > matuteni ‘one who has no mother’

Two exceptions to this vowel change are:

wa- + -ike {1pl + to} > waíke, weké [sic] ‘to us’
 wa- + -ituá {1pl + from} > wetuá ‘from us’⁴⁶

- (c) /a/ + /e/ > /a/:
 wa- + -épua {1pl + canoe} > wápua ‘our canoe’
 wa- + -éka {1pl + eat} > wáka ‘we eat’
- (d) /u/ + /i/ > /u/:
 nu- + -ike {2pl/3pl + to} > núke ‘to me’
 ju- + -itu {3sgf + mother} > jútu ‘her mother’
- (e) /u/ + /e/ > /a/:
 nu- + -épua {1sg + canoe} > nápua ‘my canoe’
 ju- + -éka {3sgf + eat} > jáka ‘she eats’

At the root-suffix boundary, a possible rule of vowel deletion is:

/a/ + /i/ > /a/:
 aá + -ima {tree + PLACE} > aáma ‘forest’ (uncertain)

Between the modal marker *-palé* (whose morphemic status is unclear; see §3.3.1.4(v)) and the suffix *-u*, we find that:

/e/ + /u/ > /au/:
 ta-palé + -u {go-HEARSAY + INTR} > tapaláu ‘one says he went’

A vowel coalescence rule /i/ + /i/ > /i/ applies at the prefix-root boundary:

/i/ + /i/ > /i/:
 pi- + -ítu {2sg + mother} > pítu ‘your mother’
 ni- + -íke {2pl/3pl + to} > níke ‘to you/them’

But if the initial /i/ of the root is unstressed, it seems that:

/i/ + /i/ > /i/:
 ni- + -ituá {2pl/3pl + from} > ni:tuá ‘from you/them’ (uncertain)
 wi- + -iná {1pl + with} > wi:ná ‘together with us’ (uncertain)

A vowel coalescence rule /u/ + /u/ > /u/ applies to the final vowel of the tense marker *-makú* (a suffix or an enclitic; see §3.3.1.2(ii)) when it is followed by the suffix *-u*:

/u/ + /u/ > /u/:
 nu-kania-makú + -u {1sg-be-FUT₁ + INTR} > nukaniamakú ‘I will be’

2.6.2 Suprasegmental changes

Almost all polysyllabic suffixes (generally stressed on the last syllable) and most of the monosyllabic ones (such as *-ti* and *-né*, added to noun stems, and *-ká*, added to verb stems) involve displacement of stress. The primary stress moves from the stem to the postposed element, e.g. *jáwa* + *-ti* > *jawa-tí* {axe-NPOSS} ‘axe’, *otomáku* + *-né* > *otomaku-né* {Otomaco-PL} ‘Otomaco (people)’, *wa-mawá* + *-ká* > *wa-mawa-ká* {1pl-die-CLOS} ‘we die’. As suggested by the following examples, the stem to which an accented suffix is attached retains its original stress, but as a secondary stress: *pekanàti-né* {cacique-PL} ‘caciques’, *tèwita-maná* {morsche-PLACE} ‘morsche grove’, *kunè-miné* {be.sweet-AUG} ‘be very sweet’. (Recall, however, that Maipure does not allow two stresses to occur in contiguous positions: *nuapé* + *-ti* > *nuape-tí* {belongings-NPOSS} ‘belongings’, *nu-pulíá* + *-ká* > *nu-pulia-ká* {1sg-say-CLOS} ‘I say’.)

A few accented enclitics are also documented in our corpus: *jaka-ké* {3sgf+eat-3sgnf} ‘she ate it’ (*jáka* ‘she ate’), *menia-káu* {deceive-3sgf} ‘he deceived her’ (*menia* ‘he deceived’).

2.7 Non-boundary phonological changes

Perhaps due to a tendency to monophthongize vowels in rapid speech (cf. the Tariana data in Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 2.5.3), all attested words with the diphthong /ai/ in a stressed syllable also have in our data a variant form with /e/, and most of those with the diphthong /au/ in a stressed syllable have a variant form with /u/, realized as [o] (see §1.4): *kulukái* ~ *kuluké* ‘copaiba balsam’, *napái* ~ *napé* ‘my father’, *papáita* ~ *papéta* ‘one (person, body part)’, *tamáu* ~ *tamú* ‘he goes’, *tumàutukí* ~ *tumùtukí* ‘girl’, *náu* ~ *nu* ‘marker of male speech’, *máu* ~ *mu* ‘marker of female speech’.

2.8 Orthography adopted

The remainder of this monograph will use for Maipure the orthography employed in the original documents attesting the language. Thus, schematizing the content of §2.3, the following graphemes and digraphs will be used:

⁴⁵ Cf. M1, p. 158: “[n]elle lingue de’ *Tamanàchi* e de’ *Maipùri*, che mi sovvenga, non si trovano delle parole . . . corte. Ma le disillabe sono moltissime in tutte e due; in que’ nomi specialmente, i quali pajono le prime idee rappresentare, che un uomo tuttora rozzo, ama naturalmente di svolgere”.

⁴⁶ The form *watuá* (spelt *uattua*) is, however, also attested.

Phoneme	Graphemic shape	Phoneme	Graphemic shape
/p/	<p>, <pp>	/j/	<j>, <y>
/b/		/i/	<i>
/t/	<t>, <tt>	/e/	<e>
/k/	<c> ^{a, u} , <cc> ^{a, u} , <ch> ^{i, e} , <k>, <q> ^{ua, ue, ui}	/a/	<a>
/s/	<s>, <ss>	/u/	allophone [u]: <u> allophone [o]: <o>
/m/	<m>	/i:/	<ii>
/n/	<n>	/e:/	<ee>
/l/	<r>	/a:/	<aa>
/r/	<r>	/u:/	<uu>
/w/	# <u> ^{a, e} , <v>		

To indicate obvious errors in the documents, the following symbols will also be used: () added grapheme; [] superfluous grapheme; { } corrected grapheme.

3 Morphosyntax

This chapter provides an overview of the basic morphosyntactic structures of Maipure. The topics covered are clausal constituents—noun phrases, adpositional phrases, verb phrases, adverbs, subordinating conjunctions, and particles—and their subconstituents; clause types; and complex sentences.

3.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases (NPs) occur in our data as subjects and objects of verbed clauses, subjects and predicates of verbless clauses, and as complements of adpositions. They are headed by a pronoun or a noun. The head noun may be accompanied by one or more of these modifiers: adjectives, relative clauses, quantifiers, the limiter *pinà* ‘only’, numerals, demonstrative determiners, and possessor NPs.

3.1.1 Pronouns and cross-referencing prefixes

3.1.1.1 Pronouns

Three classes of pronouns have been identified: personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns.

3.1.1.1.1 Personal pronouns

Maipure has three sets of personal pronouns.

	Set I:	Set II:	Set III:
1sg	nuja	canà	-na
2sg	pia	capi	-pi
3sgf	juja	-câu	?
3sgnf	ia	-chè	Ø ⁴⁷
1pl	uaja	cavi	-vi
2pl/3pl	nia	cani	?

⁴⁷ The zero realization of this morpheme (see [183], [184], and [188]) should not be confused with the lack of an object.

Personal pronouns in set I consist of a personal cross-referencing prefix (see below §3.1.1.2) plus an element /ia/ or /ja/, while those in set II consist of an element /ka/ or /ke/ plus, apparently, a personal pronoun from set III.⁴⁸ The personal pronouns in set III, on the other hand, are unanalyzable forms that cliticize to the word preceding them, as do the third person singular forms in set II. In the three sets, second and third person plural are represented by syncretic elements and non-feminine and feminine genders are distinguished in the third person singular. Gender, which relates to sex distinctions, is straightforward for human beings and, very likely (as in other Maipuran languages), certain kinds of non-human animate beings. All inanimates are probably non-feminine (see §3.1.2.3).

The three sets of personal pronouns occur in our data as follows.

Set I:

- topicalized subjects of intransitive active verbs (see example [45]).

Set II:

- subjects of intransitive stative verbs in declarative clauses (see examples [25], [28], [74], [110], and [178]);
- subjects of non-verbal predicates in declarative clauses (see examples [23], [148], and [205]);
- objects, but not with *-macumà* and *-ri* or in neutral yes/no-questions (see examples [18], [19], [47], [82], [88], and [140]).

Set III:

- subjects of non-verbal predicates in WH-questions (see example [156]);
- objects with *-macumà* and *-ri* and in neutral yes/no-questions (see examples [93], [160], [161], and [206]).

(*-macumà* is an irrealis mood marker and *-ri* is a relativizing clitic also used to mark WH-questions and subordinate temporal and simile clauses; see §3.3.1.4(iii) and §3.3.1.5.)

There are no personal pronouns occurring as subjects of intransitive stative verbs in WH-questions, subjects of intransitive stative verbs in neutral yes/no-questions, or subjects of non-verbal predicates in neutral yes/no-questions in the material we have.

3.1.1.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The system of demonstrative pronouns is almost completely obscure. There is only an indication that these pronouns are distinguished by proximity of the referent to the speaker, number, and gender in the singular. Consider the following form from M1 (p. 345): *naia* ‘that one (non-feminine)’ (It. ‘quegli’).

3.1.1.1.3 Interrogative pronouns

The only pronominal interrogative form recorded is *iti* ‘who, what’ (see §3.8.3.1).

3.1.1.1.4 A trace of ergativity in the pronominal system

At least for personal pronouns used in declarative clauses, and assuming that, as in the other Maipuran languages, the forms employed as subjects of transitive verbs could also be employed as subjects of intransitive active verbs, Maipure displays the following pattern of split-ergativity:

A = S_a with the forms from set I

O = S_o with the forms from set II

(A indicates the subject of a transitive verb, O the direct object of a transitive verb, S_a the subject of an intransitive active verb, and S_o the subject of an intransitive stative verb, in agreement with Dixon 1994.) This phenomenon, normally referred to as “split-S” (see Dixon 1994:71–78), joins with another ergative property of the language evident in the data we have, namely the analogous treatment that S_o and O constituents receive as to the unmarked constituent order of declarative clauses. The S_o follows the predicate and the O follows both the A and the predicate, as illustrated by (73) and (136).

3.1.1.2 Cross-referencing prefixes

The same set of personal prefixes which mark the possessor of inalienably possessed nouns (see §3.1.2.1(i)) is used with active verbs to cross-reference the subject.

	sg.	pl.
1	nu-	ua-
2	pi-	↑↑
3f	ju-	ni-
3nf	∅	↓↓
impersonal		pa-

The impersonal *pa-* indicates a generalized referent.

- (1) sonicaperrì cristiano vejà pa-àni
good Christian reproach IMP-son
‘A good Christian reproaches his son’
- (2) nuca pa-navà chejàpi
NEG IMP-see moon
‘One does not see the moon’
- (3) nuca pa-vià jucua-re
NEG IMP-understand language-POSS
‘One does not understand his language’

The above cross-referencing prefixes also co-occur with most of the adpositions. They are used for marking a pronominal argument and, apparently, agreement with a non-pronominal argument (see §3.2).

3.1.2 Nouns

Nouns in Maipure have the following grammatical categories: possession, number, gender, noun classification, tense, and degree. Each of these is treated in a separate subsection below.

⁴⁸ In other words, the pronouns of set III consist of what remains after eliminating the syllable /ka/ or /ke/ from the pronouns of set II: “[d]i questi secondi pronomi, talvolta non usano che la sola sillaba finale” (M1, p. 186–87). Note, however, that *-chè* in set II, in contrast to /ke/ plus ∅ ‘3sgnf’, may be interpreted historically as consisting of the syllable /ka/ plus a vocalic suffix *-i* marking third person singular non-feminine (see Aikhenvald 1999:88). It is not unlikely that **kai* became the CV element *-ke/* attested in our data, due to the tendency of Maipure to simplify the diphthong /ai/ in stressed syllables to /e/ (§2.7).

3.1.2.1 Possession

Similarly to the other Northern Maipuran languages, Maipure has three classes of nouns: (i) inalienably possessed, (ii) alienably possessed, and (iii) non-possessable.

(i) Inalienably possessed nouns are those nouns that mark possession with the cross-referencing prefixes given in §3.1.1.2. They include the following groups:

- terms for body and plant parts, e.g. *-chibucù* ‘head’, *-purichi* ‘eye’, *-chirri* ‘nose’, *-ipana* ‘head hair, leaf’,⁴⁹ *-ivi* ‘flower’, and *-tinacà* ‘fruit’;
- kinship terms, e.g. *-àni* ‘son, daughter’, *-chivacanè* ‘father’, *-itu* ‘mother’, *-aji* ‘brother’, *-ajàu* ‘sister’, and *-purenà* ‘relative’;⁵⁰
- some items that denote other things closely associated with people, e.g. *-epena* ‘medicine’, *-arru* ‘dress’, *-èpua* ‘canoe’, *-jàva* ‘axe’, *-nuapè* ‘belongings’, *-panà* ‘house’, *-naucarè* ‘dwelling (house, place)’, *-tètacanà* ‘companion (male)’, *-naunàri* ‘friend (male)’, *-ipuni* ‘enemy’, *-minàri* ‘master (male)’, and *-iti* ‘name’.

Most of these nouns have a non-possessed form with no prefix and a suffix *-ti*.⁵¹

(4)	nu-urra	‘my belly’	urra-ti	‘belly’
(5)	nu-arru	‘my dress’	arru-ti	‘dress’
(6)	pi-naucare	‘your dwelling’	naucare-ti	‘dwelling’
(7)	nu-jàva	‘my axe’	java-ti	‘axe’

The exceptions are kinship terms, which are never used without a possessor, and a few items that have a suppletive counterpart that occurs in the non-possessed form (e.g. *-èpua/quata* ‘canoe (possessed/non-possessed)’). Partial suppletion in the formation of non-possessed forms is also attested.

(8)	nu-panà	‘my house’	pani-ti	‘house’ ⁵²
(9)	nu-menène	‘my field’	meni-ti	‘field’

(ii) Alienably possessed nouns are those nouns that mark possession with a cross-referencing prefix and one of the possessive suffixes *-re* or *-nè* (10–13); or with a cross-referencing prefix and the stem-final vowel alternation *-V# > -e#* (14–17).⁵³ Their non-possessed forms are always unmarked.

⁴⁹ Etymologically a compound “hair-leaf” (Proto-Maipuran *si and *pana; cf. Baniva *-isi:pana* ‘hair’). Note that in Maipure, as well as in other languages of the Orinoco region, it is not uncommon that a body part term also refer, by semantic extension, to a plant part: “[gli Orinochesi a]lle parti diverse degli alberi danno il nome stesso, cha dar si suole alle membra di un uomo. Chiaman *capelli* le loro foglie, *braccia* i loro rami, *nervi*, e *fibre* le loro radici; e parlando di una pianta, sembra che parlino appunto di un uomo” (M1, p. 193).

⁵⁰ Interestingly, one first person singular kinship term has a different nominal form and does not have a personal cross-referencing prefix preceding it: *-itu* ‘mother’, *inà* ‘my mother’. Another first person singular kinship term has a suppletive stem: *-chivacanè* ‘father’, *napài* ‘my father’ (cf. Resigaró *á:ípe* ‘father’ and Tariana *pai* ‘father (vocative)’).

⁵¹ Avane *-xì* ([hí]; cf. *java-xì* ‘axe’), Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:38) *-ji*, Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:294) *-tji*, Proto-Maipuran (Payne 1987, 1991) *-[j].

The word *minariti*, the name of a statuette of chica wood whom the Maipure asked to reveal far and hidden things (M4, p. 103), apparently composed of *-minàri* ‘master (male)’ plus *-ti* ‘non-possessed’, seems to be an interesting case of lexicalization.

⁵² As in other Maipuran languages, the possessed form of ‘house’ ends in /a/ and the stem of the non-possessed counterpart ends in /i/ (see Aikhenvald 1999:81, 2002:291).

(10)	nu-jucua-re	‘my language’	jucua	‘language’
(11)	nu-camone-r[r]e	‘my people’	camonée	‘people’
(12)	ai-nè	‘his chilli pepper’	ai	‘chilli pepper’
(13)	suvi-nè	‘his stick’	suvi	‘stick’
(14)	{n}u-mànure	‘my knife’	mànuri	‘knife’
(15)	nu-cujarutè	‘my paper’	cujarùta	‘paper’
(16)	aràte	‘his banana’	aràta	‘banana’
(17)	marirrè	‘his shaman’	marirri	‘shaman’ ⁵⁴

(iii) Non-possessable nouns, as is common in Maipuran languages (see Aikhenvald 1999:82), seem to include terms that refer to harmful animals, natural phenomena, astronomical bodies, and personal names.

3.1.2.2 Number

Maipure nouns have two numbers: singular, which is unmarked, and plural, which is marked with a suffix. However, as in Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:36) and Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:300), the plural marking is optional, viz. it is required only when the plurality of the item has to be particularly emphasized. The optional pluralizing suffix may be one of these:

-nè: *pecanàti-nè* ‘caciques’, *Otomacu-nè* ‘Otomaco (people)’, *urrùpu-nè* ‘stars’. According to Gilij (M1, p. 185) this pluralizer (homophonous with one of the two possessive suffixes shown above) marks nouns that are not inalienably possessed (“nomi assoluti”).

-ni: *nu-tètacanà* ‘my companion (male)’, pl. *nu-tètacanà-ni*; *nu-minàri* ‘my master (male)’, pl. *nu-minà-ni*.⁵⁵ According to Gilij (M1, p. 186) this suffix is reserved for inalienably possessed nouns (“nomi contratti”). Apparently, it also marks deverbal forms as, for example, *mapita-chiò-ni* ‘fugitives’ and *uma-chi-ni* [sic] ‘creators’.

-pè: *tumetechi* ‘boy’, pl. (semi-suppletive) *tumenete-pè*.⁵⁶

-chì: *camonée* ‘person, people’, pl. *camone-chi* ‘(very many) people’ or ‘peoples’.⁵⁷

3.1.2.3 Gender and gender agreement

As indicated in §3.1.1.1.1, Maipure has a system of two genders: feminine and non-feminine (or masculine). As a rule, gender is discernible only via the agreement of nouns with third person singular prefixes (see [18–20]) and pronouns (see [205] and [206]) and, very likely, singular demonstrative determiners. There are no gender distinctions in plural. For human referents, if not animates in general, gender relates to sex distinctions. Nouns with inanimate referents (including

⁵³ Proto-Maipuran (Payne 1987, 1991) *-re and *-ne. Also the device to mark possession by ablaut has a Proto-Maipuran origin; see Payne (1987, 1991).

⁵⁴ The Yavitero and Baniva equivalent of ‘shaman’, *malili*, suggests that *marirri* should be read [malili], not [maliri].

⁵⁵ The residual masculine marker *-ri* (see §3.1.2.7.2) is suppressed in the plural; cf. Piapoco (Klumpp 1995:52) *mina-li* ‘male inhabitant’, *mina-lu* ‘female inhabitant’, pl. *mina-nai*.

⁵⁶ Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:36) *-he*; Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:300) *-pe*; Proto-Maipuran (Aikhenvald 1999:84) *-pe.

⁵⁷ In spite of the examples quoted in this subsection, which refer in most part to human beings, one should not conclude that plural marking is obligatory with nouns with human referents (cf. examples [45] and [150]).

abstract nouns) are non-feminine (see [194] and [203]).⁵⁸ Non-feminine, functionally, is therefore the unmarked gender in Maipure.

- (18) pauria Pare Ø-seca-chè nuche
other Father 3sgnf-write-3sgnf 1sg+to
'Another Father wrote it (the letter) to me' [-seca = 'paint, write']

- (19) umèni Ø-menià canà ju-mà Eva
snake 3sgnf-deceive me 3sgf-say Eve
'"The snake deceived me," Eve said'

- (20) jaca-chè Eva
3sgf+eat-3sgnf Eve
'Eve ate it (the fruit)'

Nouns in which overt opposition of the two genders is present are few, but do exist (M1, p. 162). In these, the suffixes *-i*, *-ru*, and *-ri* mark masculine and the suffixes *-àu*, *-càu* (or, perhaps, *-ràu*), and *-u* mark feminine (see §3.1.2.7.2).⁵⁹ The gender opposition is also apparent when the gender-sensitive inflectional morpheme *-mi-* 'nominal past' occurs (see below §3.1.2.5).

3.1.2.4 Noun classification

Besides gender, Maipure has two other systems of noun classification: numeral classifiers and locative classifiers.

Numeral classifiers are used with numerals from one to three (see §3.1.7). Their semantic organization is as follows:

CLASSIFIERS USED WITH 'ONE' AND 'TWO':	CLASSIFIERS USED WITH 'THREE':
(i) human	(i) non-temporal (human, animal, object)
(ii) animal	(ii) period of time
(iii) object	
(iv) period of time	

Locative classifiers occur in locative adpositional phrases. They are based, *inter alia*, on dimensionality and boundedness (see §3.2).

DIMENSIONALITY: e.g. flat

BOUNDEDNESS: e.g. with boundaries

There are no noun classifiers proper. However, a few fossilized suffixes which can be traced to an historical noun classifier, may be found in some lexical items. They include *-cù* 'container, cavity, hole'⁶⁰ in *-numacù* 'mouth' (Proto-Maipuran *numa) and *-chibucù* 'head' (Proto-Maipuran

*kiwi),⁶¹ *-pu* 'road',⁶² in *anèpu* 'road' (Proto-Maipuran *ahtini), *-ta* 'round',⁶³ in *curita* 'land turtle' (Proto-Maipuran *hikuli 'tortoise'), and *-pi* 'long, thin, cycle of time',⁶⁴ in *kejápi* 'moon, month' (Proto-Maipuran *kahit'i 'moon').

3.1.2.5 Tense

The morpheme *-mi-* expresses past tense on nouns.⁶⁵ In the singular, it takes a suffix to mark gender (21, 22); in the plural it is unmarked (23).

- (21) Caravàna-mi-nè amitàmi-ca-nà-mi
Karawana-NOM.PAST-NF soul-??-HUMAN-REMAINS
'the ghost of the late Karawana' [*amitàmicanàmi* = 'ghost of one who died of natural causes']

- (22) Macàpu-mi-nè vasùre-nà-mi
Makapu-NOM.PAST-NF devil:POSS-HUMAN-REMAINS
'the ghost of the late Makapu' [*vasùrenàmi* = 'ghost of one killed in war or in a private feud']

- (23) aràu minà-ni-mi-Ø canì urrùpu-nè
world inhabitant-PL-NOM.PAST-PL they star-PL
'The stars were inhabitants (i.e. are "ex-inhabitants") of the world'

3.1.2.6 Degree

The diminutive *-isi* (cf. *matìsi* 'small, little') indicates small size in its two attested occurrences: *tiniochi-isi* 'small woman', *Maipuri-isi* 'small Maipure'.

3.1.2.7 Nominalization and other nominal derivational devices

3.1.2.7.1 Nominalization

The suffix *-rri* 'object' nominalizes adpositions (M1, p. 190): *icuti-rri* 'thing that is inside', *epiti-rri* 'thing that is under'.

The nominalization of verb stems involves the use of different suffixes:

⁶¹ Cf. also Maipure *icu* 'hole'.

⁶² Cf. Baniwa of Içana and Tariana *-apu* 'classifier: stretch, limited space' (Aikhenvald 1995:21) and Proto-Maipuran **(a)pu* 'classifier: road, limited space, hollow objects' (from **(a)pu* 'path') (Aikhenvald in press:292).

⁶³ Cf. Baniwa of Içana *-da* ~ *-dari* 'classifier: round, generic' and Tariana *-da* 'classifier: round', in all probability from Proto-Maipuran **-ta* 'classifier: round' (see Aikhenvald in press:305).

⁶⁴ Cf. Baniwa of Içana (Taylor 1991:130) *-pi* 'classifier: long, thin, vertical', Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:table 5.1) *-pi* 'classifier: long, thin, vertical; cycle of time', and Proto-Maipuran (Aikhenvald in press:292) **-pi* 'classifier: long, thin objects' (from **api* 'snake').

⁶⁵ Cf. Baniwa (Aikhenvald 1998:298) *-mi* 'deceased', Baniwa of Içana (Taylor 1991:66) *-mi* 'nominal past', Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 9.1.2) *-miki-* 'nominal past' (probably *-mi-* plus *-ki* 'animate nominalizer'), Achagua (Wilson 1992:107-8) *-mi* 'remote past, nominal past', and Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:168-69) *-mi* 'general past, nominal past'.

⁵⁸ "Neppure i Maipuri, universalmente parlando, hanno de' generi; e quelle voci, nelle quali gli usano, non si competono che a' soli viventi ragionevoli. Gli enti irragionevoli non gli degnano di queste variazioni; e la stessa parola, che per esempio, dice dolce un melone, dice altresì dolce una mela. Ma parlando di persona non di rado le hanno" (M1, pp. 161-62).

⁵⁹ Cf. the non-productive gender suffixes *-li* 'masculine' and *-u* 'feminine' of Baré (Aikhenvald 1995:20) and *-ri* ~ *-li* 'masculine' and *-ru* ~ *-lu* 'feminine' of Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:67). Note also that the markers in question go back to the Proto-Maipuran third person singular cross-referencing masculine **(r)i* and feminine **(r)u* (Aikhenvald 2002:290).

⁶⁰ Proto-Maipuran (Payne 1991:384) **-Vku* (or **-Vk'u*) 'classifier: container, cavity, hole'.

- *-chì* ‘agent’: *uma-chì* ‘creator, one who makes’ (*-umà* ‘make’);
- *-chiò* ‘agent’: *mapita-chiò* ‘fugitive’ (*-mapita* ‘flee’), *mava-chiò* ‘feverish person’ (*-mavà* ‘die, be ill’), *arresa-chiò* ‘person saying one’s prayers’ (*-arresa* ‘say one’s prayers’);
- *-chitì* ‘state’: *mava-chitì* ‘death’ (*-mavà* ‘die, be ill’);
- *-tì* ‘object’: *eca-tì* ‘food’ (*-èca* ‘eat’), *sunuà-ta-tì* ‘chair’ (*-sunuà-ta* ‘make sit’).

In the following example the verb stem *-navà* ‘see, look’ is nominalized in close juncture with a following adverb of place, *nicù* ‘inside’: *navà-nicu-tì* ‘object inside of which one sees’.

3.1.2.7.2 Other nominal derivational devices

The following affixes derive noun stems from nominal roots or other noun stems. (The first two, used only with inalienably possessed nouns, are clearly productive, as we may observe.)

(i) *ca-* *-chini* ‘attributive’:⁶⁶ *ca-ànichivacanè-chini* ‘one who has a husband’ (*-ànichivacanè* ‘husband’), *ca-anitu-chini* ‘one who has a wife’ (*-anitu* ‘wife’), *ca-ani-chini* ‘one who has children’ (*-àni* ‘son, daughter’), *ca-chivacanè-chini* ‘one who has a father’ (*-chivacanè* ‘father’), *ca-nuapè-chini* ‘rich person’ (*-nuapè* ‘belongings’).⁶⁷

(ii) *ma-* *-teni* ‘privative’:⁶⁸ *ma-anitu-teni* ‘one who has no wife’ (*-anitu* ‘wife’), *ma-ani-teni* ‘one who has no children’ (*-àni* ‘son, daughter’), *matuteni* ‘one who has no mother’ (*-itu* ‘mother’), *ma-numacu-teni* ‘one who has no mouth’ (*-numacù* ‘mouth’), *ma-vana-teni* ‘one who has no body’ (i.e. spirit) (*-uanà* ‘body’).

(iii) *-mi* ‘remains, something useless or gone’: *purenà-mi* ‘leftovers’ (*-purenà* ‘relative, thing of the same kind’).⁶⁹

(iv) *-manà* ‘place’:⁷⁰ *chipa-manà* ‘stony place’ (*chipa* ‘stone’), *tèvita-manà* ‘moriche grove’ (*tèvita* ‘moriche’ (palm)).

(v) *-ima* ‘place’ (probably of Cariban origin; see M1, p. 198⁷¹): *vasùri-ima* ‘hell’ (*vasùri* ‘devil’) (cf. also *aàma* ‘forest’ and *aà* ‘tree, wood’).

(vi) *-nà* ‘human’:⁷² *-vasùre-nà-mi* ‘ghost of one killed in war or in a private feud’ (*vasùri* ‘devil’ (non-possessed form), *-mi* ‘remains, something useless or gone’), *-amitàmi-ca-nà-mi* ‘ghost of one who died of natural causes’ (*amitàmi* ‘soul’, *-mi* ‘remains, something useless or gone’).⁷³

⁶⁶ Proto-Maipuran (Matteson 1972:165) *ka-.

⁶⁷ Another noun formed with *ca-* *-chini* seems to be *cajarrachini* ‘man, male’, perhaps literally ‘one who has a penis’ (cf. Baré and Guinao *jála* ‘penis’).

⁶⁸ Proto-Maipuran (Matteson 1972:165) *ma-. This prefix seems to be etymologically present in the semantically privative words *maisui* ‘bad, ugly’, *matibe* ‘bad’ (< Achagua *má:fibe*), and *matissi* ‘small, little’.

⁶⁹ Cf. Baniwa (Aikhenvald 1998:321) *-mi* ‘pejorative, wasted’ and Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 10.1) *-mi* ‘remains, something useless or gone’. Albeit synchronically *-mi* ‘pejorative/wasted/remains/something useless or gone’ and *-mi/-mi* ‘(nominal) past/deceased’ (see note 65) are two different morphemes in some Northern Maipuran languages, they have very likely the same origin.

⁷⁰ According to Giliy (M1, p. 198), *-manà* replaces *-veni*, a suffix of which traces remain in several place names, as for example, the hydronym *Anavèni*, literally ‘place where there is wood suitable for making mortars’ according to the Italian Jesuit (*ana* ‘k.o. wood’).

⁷¹ Cf., however, the classifier *-ima* ‘side’ of Baniwa of Içana (Aikhenvald 1996:32).

⁷² Cf. Baniwa (Aikhenvald 1998:321) *-na* ‘human’ and Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 10.2) *-na* ‘people of’.

⁷³ Cf. Piapoco *iwàwa-ná-si* ‘ghost of an unknown dead’ (*iwàwa* ‘soul’) and *iwàwa-ná-mi* ‘ghost of an evil dead’.

(vii) *-ì* ‘masculine’: *-aj-ì* ‘brother’.

(viii) *-ru* ‘masculine’: *capè-ru* ‘old man’.

(ix) *-ri* ‘masculine’: *curricàtiuà-ri* ‘compassionate man’, *-minà-ri* ‘male master, male inhabitant’, *-naunà-ri* ‘male friend’.

(x) *-àu* ‘feminine’: *-aj-àu* ‘sister’.

(xi) *-càu* (perhaps *-ràu*) ‘feminine’: *cape-càu* ‘old woman’ (cf. *capè-ru* ‘old man’).

(xii) *-u* ‘feminine’: *curricàtiuà-u* ‘compassionate woman’.

Forms with the circumfix *ca-* *-chini* ‘attributive’ or its antonym *ma-* *-teni* ‘privative’ may also be used as adjectives and predicates (stative verbs), as suggested by the following examples.

(24) *ca-anitu-chini*
ATTR-son+mother-ATTR
‘one who has a wife, married’

(25) *ma-àrru-teni* *canà*
PRIV-dress-PRIV I
‘I am naked’

3.1.2.8 Compounding

Compounding is not an uncommon process of word formation in Maipure. Compounds in the data are mainly nouns. A few numerals and adverbs, however, also compound (see §3.1.6 and §3.5).

As regards compound nouns, three structural types can be distinguished:

(i) possessive, directly corresponding to a possessive NP (see §3.1.9) and, as such, mirroring the two types of possession existing in Maipure, viz. inalienable possession, expressed without any marker of possession, and alienable possession, expressed with a suffixed marker of possession or a stem-final vowel change to /e/; observe the following examples: *-àni-chivacanè* {son-father} ‘husband’, *-anitu* {son+mother} ‘wife’ (*-àni* ‘son’, *-itu* ‘mother’), *-ppuriki isù* {eye-body.hair} ‘eyebrow’,⁷⁴ *-capi-virrupenà* {hand-crack} ‘finger’, *mapa chivàcanè* {honey father} ‘bee’, *mapa icà* {honey faeces} ‘wax’,⁷⁵ *urrùpu saccarè* {star spit} ‘dew’, *vasùri ai-nè* {devil chilli.pepper-POSS} ‘k.o. capsicum’, *uavèmi suvi-nè* {Spaniard stick-POSS} ‘lance’, *currùmu aràte* {black.vulture banana:POSS} ‘cambur (banana plant)’ (cf. *aràta* ‘banana’);

(ii) noun – adjective, like *mapa panacarè* {honey planted} ‘sugar cane’, *urrùta curichini* {bean black} ‘k.o. bean’, and *veni marichini* {river white} ‘Rio Branco’;

(iii) deverbal, consisting of a verb stem (that may be followed by an adverb of place) and a subject or object constituent preposed to it, e.g. *cujarùta canià-nicù* {book be-inside} ‘book case’, *cantirriti canià-nicù* {candle be-inside} ‘candlestick’, *jema canià-nicù* {tobacco be-inside} ‘snuff box’, and *eca-tì cania-tà* {eat-NOMLZR be-CAUSATIVE} ‘dinner table’. (Note that deverbal compound nouns can also themselves contain nominalizations.)

The degree of formal cohesion between the elements in compounds varies. The constituent elements can be juxtaposed, each retaining its status as a separate phonological word, as most of the

⁷⁴ *-isù*, a *hapax*, is cognate with Yavitero *-itsu* ‘body hair, feather’ and Baniwa *-wítu* ‘feather’ (Proto-Maipuran *iti ‘hair’).

⁷⁵ Cf. Yavitero *máhatsia* ‘wax’ (*máha* ‘bee’ + *-tsiá* ‘faeces’). The noun *-icà*, cognate with Yavitero *-tsiá*, is also a parallel development of Baniwa *-tsiáha* ‘faeces’ (Proto-Maipuran *itik[a]/[i]).

above quoted examples seem to attest. (In *urripu saccarè* ‘dew’, *vasùri ai-nè* ‘k.o. capsicum’, and other examples each component apparently takes a main stress.) Alternatively, the formal bond between the constituents can be tighter, as in *-anitu* ‘wife’ where two linked nouns (as indicated above *-àni* ‘son’ and *-itu* ‘mother’) show coalescence of identical vowels and only a single primary stress.

3.1.3 Adjectives

Adjectives occur both attributively, usually following the head noun, and predicatively, preceding the subject, as stative verbs.

Unlike in the closely related Yavitero and Baniva, adjectives in Maipure seem to have (in the attributive use) the grammatical category of number: *mattisi* ‘small, little’, pl. (semi-suppletive) *mattita-pè*.⁷⁶

To indicate that the quality expressed by an adjective holds in a large degree, the suffix *-minè* is employed (27).

Like in other Northern Maipuran languages (e.g. Baniva and Tariana), adjectives can be used headlessly.

- (26) pi-vèka vettuà maisuini
2sg-take.away 1pl+from bad
‘Take the bad (things) away from us’

Many adjectives also function as adverbs in other contexts (see also §3.4).

- (27) àà tinacà sonirri-minè
tree fruit beautiful-AUG
‘a very beautiful (tree) fruit’
- (28) sonirri-càu
be.good-3sgf
‘She is good’
- (29) ni-cània-cà-u sonirri
3pl-be-CLOS-INTR well
‘They (Adam and Eve) would have been well’

3.1.4 Relative clauses

NPs may also be modified by a post-head relative clause (see §3.9.2.3).

3.1.5 Quantifiers

The data contains only a couple of modifiers denoting quantity: *ebacari* ‘many’ and *ununà* ‘all’. In (30) *ebacari* is proposed to the head. In (180) *ununà* appears to be used headlessly.

- (30) ebacari camonèe
many man
‘many men’

3.1.6 Limiter *pinà* ‘only’

The limiter function is manifested in our corpus by *pinà* ‘only’, a modifier that follows the head.

- (31) ussi pinà
manioc only
‘only manioc’
- (32) Piòsu pin{à} camonèe uma-chi-ri
God only man make-NOMLZR-EMPH
‘Only God is the (true) creator of man’

The limiter *pinà* is also part of a few compound adverbs in the material we have (33, 34, 75, 109).

- (33) arè-pinà
??-only
‘here’⁷⁷
- (34) juàni-pinà
(be.)near-only
‘nearby’

3.1.7 Numerals

The only other feature of the simple NP about which information is available is the numeral system (see also §3.5) which is built on the basis of these elements:

pa- -ta / pa- -àta / ma- -à	‘one’
a- -nume	‘two’
apèchi- (M10: <i>peyiveyi</i>)	‘three’
apèapèchipachi (M10: <i>yalivac</i> [sic])	‘four’

The following classifiers are infixes into the numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ in counting things of various kinds or nature:

-pài- / -va- ~ -pa-	human
-vi-	animal
-ki-	object
-puchi- / -pucù-	period of time

For the number ‘three’, M4 (p. 333) lets us suppose that the involved classifiers are only *-vâ*, used for people (and human body parts), animals, and objects, and *-pucu*, used for units of time: *papàita* (or *papèta*) ‘one’, *avanùme* ~ *apanume* ‘two’, *apechivà* ‘three (human)’; *paviàta* ‘one’, *avìnume*

⁷⁶ *-pè* is the same plural marker met above in §3.1.2.2.

⁷⁷ *arè* might be cognate to Baré *áli* ‘this (one) (nearer to hearer)’.

'two', *apechivà* 'three (animals)'; *pachiàta* 'one', *achinume* 'two', *apechivà* 'three (object *mapuchià* 'one', *apucùnùmè* 'two', *apèchipucu* 'three (periods of time)'.⁷⁸

- (35) *papèta* *camonèe*
one+CL:HUMAN man
'one man'

- (36) *avinume* *arràu*
two+CL:ANIMAL turtle
'two river turtles'

- (37) *achinùmè* *tivàu*
two+CL:OBJECT pot
'two pots'

- (38) *apèchipucu* *pècumi*
three+CL:TIME day
'three days'

Numerals appear only in prenominal position in our data. In the example that follows, numeral 'one' in conjunction with *nipinuà* expresses a distributive meaning.⁷⁸

- (39) *nu-tàà niche mánuri pachiàta nipinuà*
1sg-give 2pl/3pl+to knife one+CL:OBJECT ??
'I will give a knife to you/them one by one'

3.1.8 Demonstrative determiners

No examples of demonstrative NPs are available, but it is likely that these contained, as a modifier of the head, the same forms which are used alone as demonstrative pronouns, as occurs in many other Northern Maipuran languages (including Baniva, Tariana, Baré, Achagua, and Piapoco).

3.1.9 Possessor noun phrases

In a possessive NP, the possessor is followed by the possessed. The latter does not seem to agree in number, and gender in the singular, with the possessor, unlike in the closely related Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:37) and Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:295). The possessed element occurs in possessive form if it is an alienably possessed noun (§3.1.2.1(ii)), and receives the zero-realization of the third person singular masculine prefix.⁷⁹

- (40) *previàrio arru*
breviary dress
'breviary case'

- (41) *pecanàti anitu*
cacique son+mother
'cacique's wife'

- (42) *Maipùri naucarè*
Maipure dwelling
'dwelling(s) of the Maipure'

- (43) *uavèmi marirè*
white.person shaman:POSS
'shaman of the Whites'

3.1.10 Noun phrases in apposition

Apposition between two NPs can occur and consists of a juxtaposition of the two NPs.

- (44) *taà juti Eva*
give 3sgf+name Eve
'He (God) gave her name Eve (i.e. he called her Eve)'

- (45) *jacàpi ua-mava-cà uajà⁸⁰ ni-tianimi⁸¹ sapàni nuca ni-tturùpa Piòsu[i]*
now 1pl-die-CLOS we 3pl-child because NEG 3pl-obey God

- (i) *che*
to
'Now we, their children (sons), die because they (Adam and Eve) did not obey God'

The second NP may serve to "clarify" the first one, as in (44), or it may be a kind of modification, as in (45).

3.1.11 Ellipsis

The head of an NP may be elided when its identity is readily recoverable from the context.

- (46) *nuca uma-macumà ebacari camonèe — avanumè Ø pinà umà*
NEG make-IRR many man — two+CL:HUMAN only make
'He (God) did not make many men. He made only two (men)'

3.2 Adpositional phrases

All adpositions are apparently used as postpositions in Maipure, but it is possible that some of them (see *-iche* 'to (dative, directional)' in [47], following) are also used as prepositions (particularly in phrases that contain another adposition).

⁷⁸ "[Gli Orinochesi s]uppliscono similmente con particole il distributivo ognuno" (M1, p. 167); Yavitero *hasiàna huliàna nu-tà ni-jé katsúna* {one all 1sg-give 3pl-for trousers} 'I give a pair of trousers to them one by one' and *ni-já tsinàha huliàna* {2pl-go two all} 'Go two by two' (Mosonyi 1987:78).

⁷⁹ Just like in Baré (see Aikhenvald 1995:14).

⁸⁰ Read *uàja*.

⁸¹ Cf. Baniva *-jiàni* 'child, son' and Yavitero *-jihani* 'child, son, fetus'. The final syllable of *-tianimi* might be a non-productive suffix cognate with Baniva *-mi* 'human' (see Aikhenvald 1998:321).

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- (47) niapà uanacarè Angeli terruà cani Paraiso iquà iche peni
 then order angel chase.out them Paradise from to earth

ua-ccanià-ri-o iati
 1pl-be-REL-INTR on.FLAT
 'Then he ordered an angel to chase them out of Paradise to the earth on which we are'

Personal cross-referencing (§3.1.1.2) seems to be obligatory with most adpositions independently of whether the NP argument is overtly expressed or not.

- (48) turà niacà Eva juche
 speak also Eve 3sgf+to
 'He (God) spoke to Eve, too'
- (49) peca-chè ma juche
 2sg+eat-3sgnf say 3sgf+to
 'Eat it (the fruit)," he (the devil) said to her (Eve)'
- (50) ma niche
 say 3pl+to
 'He (God) said to them (Adam and Eve)'

The following forms ('to me', 'to you', etc.) show the adposition *-iche* with the various cross-referencing prefixes, except the impersonal one.⁸²

	sg.	pl.
1	nuche	uaiche ~ vechè [<i>sic</i>] ~ uajüche
2	piche	↑
3f	juche	niche
3nf	iche	↓

The following example shows what appears to be a prefixless adposition: *ve* 'like, as'.⁸³

- (51) queti ve cani naumari ni-mapita-cà-u
 beast like they therefore 3pl-flee-CLOS-INTR
 'They are like beasts, therefore they flee'

Other adpositions in the data are *-tami* 'with (comitative)', *-vichini* 'with (comitative)', *-inà* 'with (comitative, instrumental)', *-ituà* 'from', *-iquà* 'from, through', *-epiti* 'under', *-ipuntà* 'beyond',⁸⁴ and *-piàu* 'before (reference to time)'.⁸⁵

⁸² *-iche* may apparently also function without an NP argument and/or personal cross-referencing as an adverb: *sonirri-minè ni-cania-cà-u iche* {well-AUG 3pl-be-CLOS-INTR there} 'They found themselves to be very well there (lit. they were very well there)' (M1, p. 209: 'Benissimo stettero ivi').

⁸³ Possibly cognate with Yavitero *witsa* 'like, as' and, like *witsa*, also used in a lexicalized construction meaning 'a lot', *ve napi* (Yavitero *witsàini*, underlyingly *witsa-ìni*, literally 'like this'): Maipure *ve napi pitaà* 'Give (sg.) a lot' (M1, p. 304: 'dammene tanti'), Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:230) *hinta hénana witsàini* 'Don't (sg.) eat a lot'.

⁸⁴ Cf. Achagua *-hú:nta* 'opposite, in front of'. The initial /i/ of *-ipuntà* is probably a fossilized indefinite cross-referencing marker (cf. the indefinite prefix *i-* of Baniwa of Içana and Tariana marking, in both languages, a non-pronominal argument of a prefixed adposition; see Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 6.1.2) likely also present in the adpositions *-iche* 'to' (Proto-Maipuran *-ki 'generalized locative'; Payne 1991:380)

- (52) Pero tami
 Peter with
 'with Peter'
- (53) pèca ussi nu-vichini
 2sg+eat manioc 1sg-with
 'Eat manioc with me' (i.e. have a dinner with me)
- (54) ... veia pi-jàsa-ri vi-ina
 ... as 2sg-want-REL 1pl-with
 '... as you want together with us'
- (55) suvi inà
 stick with
 'with a stick'
- (56) tà-ma-u⁸⁶ niapà ni-ituà
 go-PAST-INTR then 3pl-from
 'Then he (God) went away from them (Adam and Eve)'
- (57) Roma iquà
 Rome from/through
 'from Rome, through Rome'
- (58) aà epiti
 tree under
 'under the tree'
- (59) paràna ipuntà
 sea beyond
 'beyond the sea' (M4: 'the other side of the sea')
- (60) nu-turà niche piàu
 1sg-speak 2pl+to before
 'I speak to you before it (the holiday)'

The following set of forms function as locative adpositions meaning 'in' or 'on': *-iati*, *-ipati*, *-ibati*, *-icuti*, *-pachiti*, *-chi*, *-inà*. (The last of these elements is identical in shape to the comitative/instrumental adposition, we may observe.)

- (61) peni iati
 ground on.FLAT
 'on the ground'

and *-iquà* 'from, through' (probably cognate with the perlativ/relative suffix *-wa* of Yavitero and the perlativ/transformativ suffix *-wa* of Baniwa; see Mosonyi 1987:55 and Aikhenvald 1998:290).

⁸⁵ Cf. Baniwa *-piātu* 'in/to front, before'. It is not clear if *-piàu* was also used with a spatial meaning.

⁸⁶ The accent should be relocated on *-ma*.

- (62) ipinà iati
plaza on.FLAT
'in the plaza'
- (63) cujarùta ipati
paper on.??
'on the paper'
- (64) japa ibati
mountain on.??
'on the mountain'
- (65) pinàti icuti
village in.BOUNDED
'in the village'
- (66) pèpuri icuti
meadow in.BOUNDED
'in the meadow'
- (67) nuà canì Paraiso Terrestre icuti
put.down them Earthly Paradise in.BOUNDED
'He (God) put them (Adam and Eve) down into the Earthly Paradise'
- (68) aà pachiti
tree on.??
'on the tree'
- (69) Roma chi
Rome in.??
'in Rome'⁸⁷
- (70) nu-sunù-a-cà-u nu-cumàrachì inà
1sg-sit-CLOS-INTR 1sg-knee on.??
'I sit on my knees' (i.e. I kneel)

The choice of these forms depends on the physical properties of the referent of the head noun: "le particelle pospositive son tante, quante per ordinario sono le cose, a cui si adattano; e fa duopo [*sic*] di memoria somma per ritenerle. Una in un caso, altre in altri casi si adoperano", Gilij writes (M1, p. 173).⁸⁸ *-iatì*, for example, was apparently used with nouns designating flat objects like *peni* 'earth, ground' (61) and *ipinà* 'plaza' (62); while *-icuti* was probably used with nouns designating objects extended in two or three dimensions and perhaps, according to the indigenous world view, with boundaries, like *pinàti* 'village' (65), *pèpuri* 'meadow' (66), *eno* 'sky' (105), and also *Paraiso Terrestre* 'Earthly Paradise' (67).⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Note that Gilij (M1, p. 190) also translates 'in Rome' as *Roma icuti*.

⁸⁸ Similar sets of adpositions, termed "locative classifiers", have been noticed in a number of other northern Amazonian languages, both Maipuran and non-Maipuran (see Aikhenvald and Green 1998:456–59 and Aikhenvald 2000:172–76).

⁸⁹ Just like *-iku* in Palikur, a Northern Maipuran language spoken along the Oiapoque and Urucaia rivers (Amapá, Brazil, and adjacent areas of French Guyana; see Aikhenvald and Green 1998:457).

3.3 Verb phrases

A verb phrase may consist of either a single verb or more than one verb in series (see §3.3.2).

3.3.1 Verbs

Verbs in Maipure follow the typical Maipuran pattern of dividing into two classes, namely active versus stative. Active verbs occur with cross-referencing prefixes marking the subject and usually (but not always; see [72]) describe actions. Stative verbs do not have any cross-referencing and normally describe states or conditions.

- (71) naca
1sg+eat
'I ate'
- (72) pi-sènichi
2sg-be.stingy
'you are stingy'
- (73) sonirri canà
be.good I
'I am good'
- (74) pauria canì
be.another they
'they are others (i.e. non-Maipure)'

According to the category of transitivity, active verbs may be intransitive, transitive, or have either transitivity value, such as *-turà* 'speak, speak a language', used in (75) without a direct object and in (196) with a direct object.

- (75) avini — ua-mejamè — manàni-pinà ua-turà
INTERJ — 1pl-forget — ?by.oneself-only 1pl-speak
'Oh, indeed? We forgot. We spoke just to speak'

Ditransitive active verbs also occur. Examples are *-taà* 'give', *-tùca* 'bring', and *-ica* 'show'. It is possible that these verbs also had a "monotransitive" usage. *-taà* 'give', for example, is found in the idiomatic expression 'give one's own heart', i.e. 'grieve, become sad', without an indirect object, as illustrated by (188).

The transitivity status of a small number of active verbs is indicated morphologically. Verbs with the suffix *-u* are all intransitive (see §3.3.1.1 below), but, it has to be noted, not every intransitive verb is marked by *-u*.

- (76) nu-sunù-a-cà-u
1sg-sit-CLOS-INTR
'I sit'

From the point of view of transitivity, all stative verbs are intransitive.

3.3.1.1 Stem closure -cà and intransitive suffix -u

A characteristic feature of Maipure (and Avane) verbal morphology is the use of the suffix *-cà*, an “empty morph” attached to certain active (mainly intransitive) verb stems, which cannot occur word-finally.⁹⁰

- (77) *nuca ni-mava-cà*
NEG 2pl-die-CLOS
‘You will not die’
- (78) *nu-puria-cà ni-jucua-re*
1sg-tell-CLOS 2pl-talk-POSS
‘I tell your talk (i.e. I speak to you)’

Most of the intransitive active verb stems that are required to be “closed” by *-cà*, in turn, also require the suffixation of *-u* (another element devoid of semantic content). This element follows *-cà* or any other inflectional suffix or enclitic that occurs.⁹¹

- (79) *nu-vichina nu-chieca-cà-u*
1sg-finish 1sg-stand.up-CLOS-INTR
‘I end up standing up’
- (80) *ta-mà-u*
go-PAST-INTR
‘he went’

When *-u* is added to the unstressed enclitic *-ri* ‘relative’, the shape of the suffix is *-[o]* (see §2.2.1). Compare (81a) and (81b) below:

- (81) (a) *ua-cania-ca-u peni iati*
1pl-be-CLOS-INTR earth on.FLAT
‘We are on earth’
- (81) (b) *peni ua-cania-ri-o iati*
earth 1pl-be-REL-INTR on.FLAT
‘the earth on which we live (are)’

Added to the tense marker *-macù* ‘future₁’, *-u* coalesces with the preceding */u/* and does not surface (§2.6.1); so our written records indicate.

Given their co-occurrence with some stems and not others, the suffixes *-cà* and *-u* can be seen as verb stem classifiers that together define three arbitrary classes:

- (i) potentially-final (or potentially-closing) active verb stems. Examples are *-èca* ‘eat’, *-càca* ‘hear’, *-sisuà* ‘smell’, *-navà* ‘see, look’, *-ma* ‘say’, *-paà* ‘touch’, *-nuà* ‘come’, and *-jatànapà* ‘sweat’.
- (ii) active verbs stems that cannot occur word-finally and do not co-occur with *-u*. Examples are *-puria* ‘tell’, *-arresa* ‘say one’s prayers’, *-nua* ‘paddle’, *-ima* ‘sleep’, and *-mavà* ‘die, be ill’.

(iii) (intransitive) active verbs stems that cannot occur word-finally and require the suffixation of *-u*. Examples are *-ta* ‘go’, *-mapita* ‘flee’, *-chieca* ‘stand up’, *-sunuà* ‘sit’, *-canià* ‘be, stay’, *-merra* ‘appear, show oneself’, *-meniqua* ‘hide oneself’, and *-neca* ‘be ashamed’.⁹²

The potentially-final active verb stem class is by far the largest of the three. Approximately three-quarters (exactly 39 out of 53) of the active verb stems in our corpus are of this type. Stems that cannot occur word-finally and co-occur with *-u* represent by far the smallest class. Approximately one ninth of the attested active verb stems (6 out of 53) are thus characterized.

3.3.1.2 Tense

As happens in the majority of Maipuran languages, clauses are not obligatorily marked for tense in Maipure. Commonly, as we may observe in the text in M1 (see chapter §4), unmarked verb forms were used with an explicit time expression to specify the time reference if necessary (82, 138).

- (82) *nuca ni-mava-cà ma menia-càu Vasùri*
NEG 2pl-die-CLOS say deceive-3sgf devil
‘“You will not die,” the devil said deceiving her (lit. (and) he deceived her)’

The following tense markers could be optionally employed.

- (i) *-mà* ‘past’ (M1, p. 188: ‘preterito’).⁹³

- (83) *nu-nava-mà*
1sg-see-PAST
‘I saw’

- (84) *Eva (ju-)ta-mà-u ju-navà naucare-ti*
Eve 3sgf-go-PAST-INTR 3sgf-see dwelling-NPOSS
‘Eve went to see the dwelling place’

- (ii) *-macù* ‘future₁’ (perhaps ‘near future’).

- (85) *nu-nava-macù*
1sg-see-FUT₁
‘I will see’

(iii) *-chiacò* ‘future₂’, viz. a second future tense marker of uncertain function (probably a general future marker): “[un verbo d]ivien poi futuro mettendovi la particella *macù*, ovvero *chiacò*” (M1, p. 188).

- (86) *nu-navà-chiacò*
1sg-see-FUT₂
‘I will see’

⁹² Most of the Piapoco equivalents of these verbs, i.e. *-à* ‘go’, *-pia* ‘run, flee’, *-kawà*: ‘stand up’, *-awina* ‘sit’, and *-bàinia* ‘be ashamed’, occur with *-wa* ‘intransitive’ (see Klumpp 1995).

⁹³ A morpheme with the same shape and meaning occurs in Avane; cf. *ta-mà-u* {go-PAST-INTR} ‘he went’ (M1, p. 156: ‘andò’).

⁹⁰ Cf. Avane *nu-xa-cà-u* {1sg-go-CLOS-INTR} ‘I go’ (M1, p. 203: ‘Io vado’).

⁹¹ This is also the case in Avane (see notes 90 and 93). In Achagua (Wilson 1992:30–31) and the closely related Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:87, 101–2), the suffixes *-u* and *-wa*, respectively, are attached to some intransitive verbs, but these also have a detransitivizing role with some transitive verbs, in all probability unlike Maipure and Avane *-u*.

- (87) juccumari-uati-chiacò nu-nuà
 winter-when-FUT₂ 1sg-come
 ‘I will come in the winter (i.e. in the rainy season)’

Though it is commonly found attached to verbs (see [86], [176], and [183]), *-chiacò* is not a suffix, but an enclitic that undergoes (or may undergo) movement to adverbs in clause-initial position (see [87] and [123]). The other two tense markers are so rare in our textual material that is impossible to determine if they were used exclusively with active verbs, as it appears, or not.

3.3.1.3 Aspect

There seems to be only one aspect marker in the Maipure corpus. The marker in question is *-ina* ‘continuative’ (M2: ‘ancora’).⁹⁴

- (88) pi-kinanà cavi veia ua-kinana-ri-ina matibe-ri cania-ca-u ua-ike
 2sg-forgive us as 1pl-forgive-REL-CONT be.bad-REL be-CLOS-INTR 1pl-to
 ‘Forgive us, as we are forgiving those who are bad to us’

3.3.1.4 Mood

The following markers are modal. They only occur attached to active verb stems in our data. It is therefore not possible to establish the affixal or clitic status of these elements.

- (i) *-naunà* ‘purposive’ (apparently optional; see §3.9.2.2.3).

- (89) pi-taà nuche sapo nu-navà-naunà nu-puricù
 2sg-give 1sg+to mirror 1sg-look-PURPOSIVE 1sg-face
 ‘Give me the mirror to look at my face’

- (ii) *-panicà* ‘optative’: “[l]a particella *panicà* (in latino *utinam*) fa il modo ottativo” (M1, p. 188).

- (90) ni-vià-pànica⁹⁵ piti
 3pl-know-OPTATIVE 2sg+name
 ‘May they know your name’

- (iii) *-macumà* ‘irrealis’.⁹⁶ The following construction was chosen by Gilij as representative of the conditional or counterfactual force of sentences containing a verb with *-macumà*.

- (91) naà nu-ta-cà-u aàma iche nu-tùca-macumà piche catti
 if 1sg-go-CLOS-INTR tree+PLACE to 1sg-bring-IRR 2sg+to firewood
 ‘If I go to the forest, I will bring you some firewood; If I had gone to the forest, I would have brought you some firewood’

Clauses with *-macumà*, however, are not necessarily structurally apodotes; they can be used to speak of events not taking place and unactualized possibilities also without a preceding if-clause.

⁹⁴ Cf. Yavitero *-na* ‘continuative’ (Mosonyi 1987:65) and Proto-Maipuran **-ena* ‘progressive, gerund, continuative existential’ (Payne 1991:381).

⁹⁵ A misprint in the original source for *-panicà*.

⁹⁶ This marker may be analyzed as *-macù* ‘future,’ plus *-mà* ‘past’.

- (92) nuca uma-macumà ebacari camonèe
 NEG make-IRR many man
 ‘He (God) did not make many men’

-macumà also signals a warning, as illustrated by the following examples.

- (93) nu-mià-macumà-pi⁹⁷
 1sg-kill-IRR-2sg
 ‘I’ll kill you!’ (a common reproach)
- (94) ua-mavà-macumà
 1pl-die-IRR
 ‘We might die’
- (95) nuca neca-chè ... ni-mavà-macumà
 NEG 2pl+eat-3sgnf ... 2pl-die-IRR
 ‘Don’t eat it (the fruit) ... you might die’

- (iv) *-nicapì* ‘perhaps (uncertainty)’ (cf. the tag-question marker *nicà*; §3.8.3.2(ii)).

- (96) nu-nava-nicapì
 1sg-see-PERHAPS
 ‘perhaps I saw’

- (v) *-parè* ‘hearsay’. It signals that the speaker is not an eyewitness of the events being described: “[s]i [sic] *Tamanachi*, come *Maipùri* raccontando una cosa da sé non veduta, interpongono una particella, della quale si conosce che l’han sentita; ed equivale al nostro *si dice*. . . . *parè*, o *paràù* [è] quella de’ Maipuri” (M1, p. 194). It is the sole evidential present in our material.

- (97) ta-para-u mià timachi
 go-HEARSAY-INTR kill fish
 ‘One says he went to fish (lit. kill fish)’

As indicated in §2.6.1, the final vowel of *-parè* is retracted to /a/ when this morpheme precedes the suffix *-u* ‘intransitive’.

- (vi) *-macà* ‘prohibitive’: “[s]enonchè anche i Maipùri hanno il proibitivo, come i *Tamanachi*; ed è la particella *macà* posposta al verbo” (M1, p. 188).

- (98) pi-navà-macà
 2sg-look-PROH
 ‘don’t look’

- (99) pi-jàsa-macà
 2sg-love-PROH
 ‘don’t love’

As (112) and (181) suggest, the negator *nucà* added before an imperative verb marks prohibitive mood without the presence of *-macà*.

The indicative mood is unmarked. Inevitably, if a zero-marked verb stem cannot occur in word-final position, it takes the suffix *-cà* as the closing element.

⁹⁷ Note that *-pi* is not accented in (156) and (161).

- (100) ni-navà
2pl/3pl-see
'you/they see'
- (101) nu-neca-cà-u
1sg-be.ashamed-CLOS-INTR
'I am ashamed'

Imperatives (positive), do not differ from the second person indicative forms (M1, pp. 188 and 307).

- (102) ni-navà
2pl-look
'look'
- (103) pi-kinanà cavi
2sg-forgive us
'Forgive us'
- (104) uaca — peca purenà-mi
1pl+eat — 2sg+eat relative-REMAINS
'We have eaten. Eat the leftovers' [*purenà* = 'relative, thing of the same kind']

3.3.1.5 Relative forms

Relative verb forms are marked by the clitic *-ri* (81b, 197). However, *-ri* is not restricted to relative clauses; it also marks WH-questions (see §3.8.3.1), one type of subordinate temporal clause (see §3.9.2.2.1), and subordinate clauses of similarity (see §3.9.2.2.2).

The clitic-like nature of *-ri*, whereby it undergoes (or may undergo) movement to locative adpositional phrases in clause-initial position, is illustrated by the following example.

- (105) ua-kivacane eno icuti-ri pi-cania-(ca)-u
1pl-father sky in.BOUNDED-REL 2sg-be-CLOS-INTR
'Our Father who art in heaven'

3.3.1.6 Temporal subordinate forms

Besides being marked by the relativizing clitic *-ri*, verbs (predicates) of temporal subordinate clauses, of one of the two attested types, receive the suffix (or enclitic) *-uati* 'when', as shown in §3.9.2.2.1. This element also marks, following the morpheme *-pucùmi*, the verb (predicate) of the other type of subordinate clauses present in the data (see §3.9.2.2.1), can be used with the two nouns which designate seasons in Maipure (87, 106), and appears in the idiomatic, complex adverbs in (107–109).

- (106) camoti-uati
summer-when
'in the summer (i.e. in the dry season)'
- (107) pàuria-uàti
other-when
'afterwards'

- (108) uàti-rri-uàti
when-EMPH-when
'at that time'
- (109) naà pinà-uàti turà
if only-when speak
'Thus he spoke'

3.3.1.7 Degree forms

Stative verbs, as well as (attributive) adjectives and adverbs of manner, have an augmentative degree form marked by the suffix *-minè*.

- (110) cunè-minè-chè
be.sweet-AUG-3sgnf
'It (the fruit) is very sweet'
- (111) cunè-minè ju-nàva-chè
sweetly-AUG 3sgnf-look-3sgnf
'She (Eve) looked at it (the fruit) with great relish'

3.3.1.8 Morphological and syntactic causatives

As suggested by the semantics of two morphologically complex nouns in the word list in M1—i.e. *sunuà-ta-tì* 'chair', in which *-sunuà-ta* might well convey the sense 'make sit' (*-sunuà* 'sit', *-tì* 'nominalizer'), and *eca-tì cania-tà* 'dinner table', in which *-cania-tà* might well mean 'make be, make stay' (*eca-tì* {eat-NOMLZR} 'food', *-cania* 'be, stay')—active verbs (or some of them) can be causativized by adding the suffix *-tà* to the stem.⁹⁸

Like Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:68) and Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:239), Maipure has both morphological and syntactic causatives. Syntactic causatives (that must be distinguished from the serial verb constructions discussed below in §3.3.2) are formed in our corpus by using the verbs *-vèka* 'let' (permissive causative) and *-uanacarè* 'order, command, send' (ordering causative).

- (112) nuca pi-vèka vasuri menià cavi
NEG 2sg-let devil deceive us
'Do not let the devil deceive us'
- (113) niapà uanacarè Angeli terruà cani Paraiso iquà iche peni
then order angel chase.out them Paradise from to earth

ua-ccanià-ri-o iati
1pl-be-REL-INTR on.FLAT
'Then he (God) ordered an angel to chase them (Adam and Eve) out of Paradise to the earth on which we live (are)'

⁹⁸ Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:68) and Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:366) *-ta*, Proto-Maipuran (Wise 1990:112) **-t^ha*.

3.3.1.9 Verbalizer

The suffix *-à* derives the active verb stem *-capià* ‘bring, take’ from the nominal root *-càpi* ‘hand’.⁹⁹ Other roots seem to function both as nominal and active verb stems: *tià* ‘rain’, *tià* ‘it rains’ (M8: ‘piovere’); *nau* ‘paddle’, *nau-cà* {paddle-CLOS} ‘he paddles’ (M1, p. 300: ‘remate’ [sic]).

3.3.2 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions, an areal property of the Maipuran languages of southern Venezuela and Colombia (see Aikhenvald 1999:98), occur in the Maipure data at our disposal with the following features and values.

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION FEATURES:

presence of no more than two components, one of which is a phase verb, a stance verb, a modal verb, or a motion verb;
shared subject;
functional semantic unity of the whole expression;
shared polarity;
shared tense or mood specifications.

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION VALUES:

aspectual;
modal;
directional.

(i) The few examples of aspectual serial verb constructions that we have include the verbs *-vichinà* ‘finish’, expressing completion, and *-canià* ‘be, stay’, apparently imparting a progressive or habitual meaning (see [115] and [116]; cf. analogous constructions in Baré; Aikhenvald 1995:41).

- (114) nu-vichina nu-turà
1sg-can/finish 1sg-speak
‘I finish speaking, I can speak’

- (115) matibe-ri cania-ca-u ua-ike
be.bad-REL be-CLOS-INTR 1pl-to
‘The one who is bad to us’

- (116) maisuini-ri cania-cà-u ta-cà-u catti (i)che
be.bad-REL be-CLOS-INTR go-CLOS-INTR hell to
‘The one who is bad goes to hell’ [catti = ‘fire, firewood, hell’]

Note however that, since *-vichinà* also means ‘can’,¹⁰⁰ a serial verb construction formed with this verb expresses a completive aspectual meaning as well as a potential modal meaning. (Context would then disambiguate clauses like [114].)

(ii) Modal serial verb constructions in our data contain, besides *-vichinà*, the verbs *-jàsa* ‘want’ and *-seccàcuni* ‘know how to’.

- (117) ni-jàsa ni-ta-cà-u Vasùri-ima iche
3pl-want 3pl-go-CLOS-INTR devil-PLACE to
‘They want to go to hell’

- (118) nuca ua-seccàcuni ua-mià tim{a}chi
NEG 1pl-know.how.to 1pl-kill fish
‘We do not know how to fish (lit. kill fish)’

- (119) nuca seccàcuni camonèe nupà manàni
NEG know.how.to man be.born ?by.oneself¹⁰¹
‘Man does not know how to be born by himself’

(iii) Directional serial verb constructions appear to be formed with the motion verbs *-ta* ‘go’ and *-nuà* ‘come’.

- (120) niapà ju-ta-cà-u ju-tùca purenà ju-ccàpi iche
then 3sgf-go-CLOS-INTR 3sgf-bring relative 3sgf-hand to
‘Then she (Eve) went to bring another similar thing (another fruit; lit. its relative) back in her hand’

- (121) ju-nuà ju-vì aa tinacà neca-ma(ca)-chè Piosu
3sgf-come 3sgf-be.in.front tree fruit 2pl+eat-PROH-3sgnf God

ma-pucùmi-uati

say-??-when

‘She (Eve) came to be in front of the (tree) fruit, after God had said “Don’t eat it (the fruit)”’

Examples (118), (119), and (146) illustrate that the negator *nuca* added before the first component of a serial verb construction negates the whole construction. Examples (84), (97), and (115) show that two verbs in series receive only a single tense marker, a single modal marker, and a single relative marker and that the markers in question go on the first verb. The sentence in (119) suggests that a serial verb construction may be interrupted by a subject NP moved from its canonical clause-initial position.

3.4 Adverbs

Adverbs may simple, derived, or compound (see §3.1.6). The suffix *-epi* is used to derive adverbs with a temporal meaning from at least two nouns: *pècumi-epi* ‘during the day, by day’, *jatti-epi* ‘during the night, at night’.¹⁰² Many forms have multiple word class membership; they can be used as an adjective, stative verb, or adverb without intervening affixes.

¹⁰¹ The meaning and the class membership of *manàni* are dubious. There is also uncertainty as to the exact meaning of *manànipinà*, which is apparently an adverb containing *manàni* (see example [75]).

¹⁰² Another derived temporal adverb in our data uses the diminutive *-isi* (§3.1.2.6) and yet another uses *-tami* (a suffix that does not appear anywhere else in our material): *jacàpi* ‘today, now’, *jacàpi-isi* ‘right now’ (cf. Spanish *ahorita*); *papujà* ‘at first’, *papuja-tami* ‘long time ago’. A further suffix used to derive temporal adverbs seems to be *-uati* (see §3.3.1.6).

⁹⁹ Proto-Maipuran (Wise 1990) *-a.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. also the polysemy of Yavitero *-je* ‘finish, can, must’, Baré *-jéhe* ‘finish, can, manage’, Piapoco *-dé* ‘finish, can, manage’, and Baniwa of Içana *-jáita* ‘finish, can’.

- (122) maisuini-che
be.bad-3sgnf
'He is bad'
- (123) maisuini-chiacò pi-cania-cà-u
badly-FUT₂ 2sg-be-CLOS-INTR
'You will live badly'

3.5 Numeral phrases and clauses

Numbers higher than four are based on phrases (124, 126, 128–130) or clauses (125, 127).

- (124) papèta[e]-rri capi-ti¹⁰³
one+CL:HUMAN-EMPH hand-NPOSS
'five' (lit. only one single hand)¹⁰⁴
- (125) papeta janà¹⁰⁵ pa{u}ria capi-ti purenà
one+CL:HUMAN ?? other hand-NPOSS relative
'six' (M3: 'One takes one from the other hand') [-purenà = 'relative, thing of the same kind']
- (126) apanumè-rri capi-ti
two+CL:HUMAN-EMPH hand-NPOSS
'ten' (lit. just two hands)
- (127) papèta janà chi-ti purena
one+CL:HUMAN ?? toe-NPOSS relative
'eleven' (M3: 'One takes one of the toes')
- (128) papèta camonèe
one+CL:HUMAN man
'twenty'
- (129) avanùme camonèe
two+CL:HUMAN man
'forty'
- (130) apekivà camonèe
three+CL:NON-TEMPORAL man
'sixty'

3.6 Conjunctions

The adverb *niacà* 'also', positioned after NPs (131, 188) and verb phrases (48, 132), has a coordinating function. As with English *also* or *too*, the element followed by *niacà* is and-coordinated to the corresponding element in some previously-stated/implied clause.

- (131) nuja niacà
I also
'I, too ...'
- (132) umà cajarrachini — Atàni-rri iti — umà niacà tiniochi —
make male — Adam-EMPH name — make also female —

taà juti Eva
give 3sgf+name Eve
'He (God) made the male. His name is (exactly) Adam. He made the female, too. He called her Eve (lit. he gave her name Eve)'

There is no equivalent for 'or' in Maipure (M1, p. 176). The only conjunctions are forms connecting clauses in subordinating relationships including *veia* 'as' (cf. the adposition *ve* 'like, as'; §3.9.2.2.2), *sapàni* 'because' (§3.9.2.2.5), *naà* 'if' (§3.9.2.2.6), *naumari* 'therefore' (§3.9.2.2.7), *nicamà* 'although' (§3.9.2.2.8), and the switch-reference sensitive *uati* 'when' (§3.9.2.2.1).

3.7 Clausal and discourse particles

In the data, four particles occur which function at the clause level.

nuca 'negative' (see §3.8.1.1(vi) and §3.8.1.2).¹⁰⁶

parè 'WH-question' (see §3.8.3.1).

marè 'neutral yes/no-question' (see §3.8.3.2(i)).

nicà 'tag-question' (see §3.8.3.2(ii)).

The following particles, attested by the Maipure text in M1 (see §4), function at the discourse level. They appear to link successive events without expressing the nature of the relationship between the events.

iquà 'then'.

- (133) iquà turà juche
then speak 3sgf+to
'Then he (the devil) spoke to her (Eve)'

niapà 'then'. (It occurs more frequently than *iquà* and is usually clause-initial.)

- (134) niapà Piòsu merra-cà-u niche
then God appear-CLOS-INTR 3pl+to
'Then God appeared to them (Adam and Eve)'

¹⁰⁶ Gili in M1 (p. 175) mentions a further "negative particle", *pama*, but unfortunately we do not have any record of its usage in this or other sources attesting Maipure.

¹⁰³ Read *capi-ti* here and in the following examples.

¹⁰⁴ Humboldt (M10) records 'five' as *yaviyi*.

¹⁰⁵ Perhaps cognate with Tariana *-djánata* 'follow'; cf. the numeral 'six' in Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 11.8), *peme-kapí pá:-na djánata-na* {one+SIDE+INDEFINITE-HAND one-CL:VERTICAL follow-CL:VERTICAL}, literally 'the side of one hand and one which follows'.

Two particles correlate with the sex of the speaker (§1.5).

nau ~ *no* ‘male speech’.

mau ~ *mò* ‘female speech’.

3.8 Types of clauses

Independent clauses, discussed in the following subsections, may be declarative (§3.8.1), imperative (§3.8.2), interrogative (§3.8.3), or of one of several other, minor types (§3.8.4). Some dependent (subordinate) clause types are treated in §3.9.2.

3.8.1 Declarative clauses

These may be verbed or verbless.

3.8.1.1 Verbed clauses

(i) Verbed clauses in our corpus show the following constituent orders: non-rigid AVO, non-rigid S_aV, and VS_o. Consider the following examples.

AVO:

- (135) pare navà cavi
Father see us
‘The Father sees us’

- (136) umèni menià canà
snake deceive me
‘The snake deceived me’

- (137) Piòsu puria-cà ni-jucua-re
God tell-CLOS 3pl-talk-POSS
‘God told their talk (i.e. spoke to them)’

S_aV:

- (138) papujatàmi nuca camonèe ni-cania-cà-u
long.time.ago NEG man 3pl-be-CLOS-INTR
‘A long time ago there were no men’

VS_o:

- (139) aarrapi chiè
be.upright sun
‘The sun is upright (i.e. it is midday)’

- (140) puite nu-nichini — nu-navà capi
be.happy 1sg-heart — 1sg-see you
‘I am glad to see you (sg.) (lit. my heart is happy — I see you)’¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ The usual way of expressing ‘someone is glad to . . .’ is by means of two sentences as in (140), the first of which, with the literal meaning of ‘someone’s heart is happy’, corresponds to ‘someone is glad’ (M1,

- (141) cavi nu-paà
hurt 1sg-rib
‘My rib aches’

(ii) Omission of the subject NP is very common in transitive and intransitive active clauses. The deleted constituent is recoverable from the context and the subject is cross-referenced by prefixes on the predicate. In the data we have, we may observe the absence of the subject NP under the following circumstances: (a) when the cross-referencing prefix in the predicate, together with prior mention in the discourse and/or the situational context make the identity of the subject obvious; (b) when the predicate is marked by *pa-* ‘impersonal’ (2, 3); and also in (c) imperative (98, 99, 102–104) and (d) relative clauses (81b, 105, 115, 116, 197).

(iii) Adpositional phrases headed by *-iche* ‘to’ function as indirect objects.¹⁰⁸

- (142) pi-taà nuche antejo
2sg-give 1sg+to spyglass
‘Give me the spyglass’

- (143) paura Pare seca-chè nuche
other Father write-3sgnf 1sg+to
‘Another Father wrote (the letter) to me’ [*-seca* = ‘paint, write’]

If there is a nominal direct object and an indirect object, the word order in the clause is normally (A)VO_{ind}O_{dir} (as in [142]). If the direct object is a personal pronoun, then the indirect object normally follows the other core arguments (as in [143]).

(iv) Several other types of verbal arguments occur including instrumentals, comitatives, and locatives of place and time. These arguments in the material we have are marked by appropriate adpositions (instrumentals, comitatives, locatives of place) or simply consist of adverbs (locatives of place and time).

- (144) pi-capi-a cavi pi-naucare ike
2sg-hand-VBLZR us 2sg-dwelling to
‘Take us to your dwelling’

Due to their infrequency, it is not possible to make generalizations about the positions of the various peripheral arguments in a clause. We may only note that adpositional phrases denoting local functions are usually clause-final, as in (67), (70), (117), (120), and (144).

(v) Adverbs of manner generally precede the verb they modify (111, 123, 145, 175, 189).

- (145) cavi nau-cà
hard paddle-CLOS
‘He paddles hard’

p. 197); cf. Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:116) *ka-sí:mái-ka na-wàwa* {ATTR-joy-POSITIVE.ASSERTION 3pl-heart} ‘They are glad’ and Paraujano (Caribbean branch of Maipuran; Patte 1989:76) *payawi: tein* {happy+NON-MASCULINE 1sg+heart} ‘I am glad’.

¹⁰⁸ Recall that the adposition *-iche* also has a local usage, indicating motion towards some place or thing (§3.2).

(vi) Negation is expressed by means of the negator *nuca*. The clausal constituents that may be negated are (or include) the verb phrase (for clausal negation; see the following example) and the subject NP (see [138]). The negator always precedes these.

- (146) *nuca nu-vichina nu-chieca-cà-u*
 NEG 1sg-finish 1sg-stand.up-CLOS-INTR
 ‘I do not end up standing up’

3.8.1.2 Verbless clauses

In Maipure, as in many languages (not only Maipuran), there are a number of clause types that consist only of non-verbs. These include possessive clauses, with the probable constituent order adposition ‘to’ – possessed – possessor (this order is also found in other Northern Maipuran languages), and other types of clauses with the constituent order predicate – subject. Among these latter clauses, those denoting identity also contain a pronoun copy of the subject. This pleonastic element immediately precedes the subject of the clause, as we may observe in (147), (149), and (150).

- (147) *nuca ua-pure{n}à cani mapita-chiò-ni*
 NEG 1pl-relative they flee-NOMLZR-PL
 ‘The fugitives are not our relatives’

As the above example also shows, negative, non-possessive verbless clauses are marked with the negator *nuca*.

3.8.1.2.1 Identificational clauses

Identificational clauses may have an NP or an adpositional phrase headed by *ve* ‘like, as’ in their predicate slot (51, 148–150).

- (148) *pecanati ani canà*
 cacique son I
 ‘I am the son of a cacique’
- (149) *aràu minà-ni-mì cani urrùpu-nè — Pittiniti cani*
 world inhabitant-PL-NOM.PAST they star-PL — Pitinití they
 ‘The stars were inhabitants (i.e. are “ex-inhabitants”) of the world. (Now) they are “Pitinití” (supernatural creatures)’
- (150) *curita cani Tamanàcu — nuca neca ussi — paccatià*
 land.turtle they Tamanaco — NEG 3pl+eat manioc — always

neca curita
 3pl+eat land.turtle
 ‘The Tamanaco are land turtles. They do not eat manioc. They always eat land turtles’

3.8.1.2.2 Equational clauses

An NP with a predicative function also occurs in equational clauses, but apparently not with a pronoun copy of the nominal subject.

- (151) *Atàni-rri iti*
 Adam-EMPH name
 ‘His name is (exactly) Adam’

3.8.1.2.3 Locative clauses

Verbless clauses can also have locative reference. In such clauses the predicate may be a locative adverb, as (156) suggests.

3.8.1.2.4 Possessive clauses

Although not directly documented in our corpus, it is highly probable that Maipure had possessive verbless clauses marked with the adposition ‘to’ consisting, as stated above, of ‘to’ – possessed – possessor.¹⁰⁹ Gilij in M1 (pp. 168 and 187) makes mention of “possessive pronouns” that precede nouns, but these are nothing but the adposition *-iche* ‘to’ with a cross-referencing prefix. In such circumstances, *-iche* in all likelihood marks the possessive relationship in a possessive verbless clause and not in an NP, as a literal interpretation of Gilij would lead one to believe.¹¹⁰

3.8.2 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses, receiving a special morphological marker only in the negative form (§3.3.1.4), seem to occur solely in the second person singular and plural. As in their declarative counterparts, the subject pronoun is normally omitted in imperative clauses.

3.8.3 Interrogative clauses

3.8.3.1 WH-questions

WH-questions are characterized by (a) a WH-word in initial position, (b) the particle *parè* that follows the WH-word when it is not the subject (152–154, 156, 157), and (c) the relative marker *-ri*, but only if the WH-word is the subject or object (152, 153, 155).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ With the possessor constituent optional and the adposition marked for possessor person, as in Yavitero, Baniwa, and Baniwa of Içana for example; cf. Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:70–71) *háta ju-jé hañihani jù-ta ñalinemi* {NEG 3sgf-to son 3sgf-DEM:DISTAL woman} ‘That woman has no sons’, *hi-jé hi-mijule* {2sg-to 2sg-garden:POSS} ‘You have your garden’; Baniwa (Aikhenvald 1998:245) *Ø-jue supe-hě fiani-pe* {3sgnf-to many-PAUSAL child-PL} ‘He has many children’; and Baniwa of Içana (Aikhenvald 1999:99) *nu-fia ifinu* {1sg-to dog} ‘I have a dog’.

¹¹⁰ “Pronomi possessivi; *nuche* mio, *piche* tuo, *juche* suo, *uaiche*, *vechè*, o *uajùche* nostro, *niche* vostro e loro. Ma se questi possessivi si uniscono a qualche nome, si usano diminuti [*sic*]; e si scorge il segno possessivo dalle prime sillabe. Così v.g. non dicesi, *nuche anitu*, *nuche ani* &c.” (M1, p. 187; *-anitu* ‘wife’, *-ani* ‘son, daughter’).

¹¹¹ WH-words occur as elements filling a range of functions within the clause: subject, e.g. (155); object, e.g. (152); predicate, e.g. (154); locative argument, e.g. (157); and so on.

There are only three WH-words that occur in the data:

<i>iti</i>	'who, what'
<i>uacàti</i>	'where'
<i>uacàu</i>	'from where'

Examples of the use of these WH-words are:

- (152) nu-naunàri — iti pare pècca-ri upiè
1sg-friend — what WH 2sg+eat-REL tomorrow
'My friend! What will you eat tomorrow?'

- (153) iti pare umà-ri
what WH do-REL
'What does he do?'

- (154) iti pare piti
what WH 2sg+name
'What is your name?'

- (155) iti purià-ri pi-jucua-re
who tell-REL 2sg-talk-POSS
'Who told it to you (lit. told your talk)?'

- (156) uacàti parè-pi — Atani
where WH-2sg — Adam
'Where are you? Adam!'

- (157) uacàu pare nuà camonèe
from.where WH come people
'From where do the people come?'¹¹²

The clause in (153) is also used as a marker of 'why' questions.

- (158) iti pare umà-ri nuca pi-ta-cà-u
what WH do-REL NEG 2sg-go-CLOS-INTR
'Why do you not go?'

3.8.3.2 Yes/no-questions

(i) *Neutral question form.* Where there is no expected response, questions are expressed using the particle *marè*.

- (159) tucà marè jucua
bring Y/N news
'Does it (the letter) bring any news?'

¹¹² In this example, the placement of a non-subject constituent to front position seems to be accompanied by subject-verb inversion.

- (160) pi-navà marè-na
2sg-see Y/N-1sg
'Did you see me?'

- (161) navà mare-pi
see Y/N-2sg
'Did he see you?'

(ii) *Leading yes/no-questions.* When a question is posed expecting agreement, this is marked by the tag *nicà* (162, 163).

- (162) pi-nuà nicà
2sg-come TAG
'Did you come?' (greeting to someone who has just arrived)

3.8.4 Minor clause types

The following minor clause types occur in the corpus: greetings (163, 164); short, routine answers (165–170); expressive interjections (171, 172); and vocative expressions (173, 174).

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (163) | pia nicà {you TAG} | '(Is that) you?' (to person arriving) |
| (164) | bare nau | 'Hello!' (arriving from a journey) |
| (165) | ja | 'Yes' |
| (166) | saje | 'Yes' |
| (167) | u u | 'Yes' |
| (168) | u u ja | 'Yes' (also used as reply to [163]) |
| (169) | nucamà | 'No'. ¹¹³ |
| (170) | maonèe | 'No, there is not' |
| (171) | avini | 'Oh, indeed?' |
| (172) | tamarè | 'Who knows' |
| (173) | Atani | 'Adam!' |
| (174) | nu-naunàri | 'My (male) friend!' |

3.8.5 Ellipsis

As was mentioned earlier, ellipsis occurs regularly in transitive and intransitive active clauses, when the subject NP is clear from the (non-)linguistic context.

3.8.6 Comparative constructions

Maipure forms comparative constructions by using the adposition *-ituà* 'from'.

- (175) cunè pi-turà pauria camonèe ituà
sweetly 2sg-speak other people from
'You speak more sweetly than other people (lit. sweetly from other people)'

¹¹³ Apparently built on the negator *nuca* and the verb stem *-ma* 'say'.

3.9 Complex sentences

3.9.1 Co-ordination

Maipure, in line with most Maipuran languages (see Aikhenvald 1999:101), possesses no conjunctions to co-ordinate independent clauses. Clauses are juxtaposed without any formal link, as in the following example.

- (176) pi-mavà-chiacò maisuini-chiacò pi-cania-cà-u pi-jatànàpà-chiacò peca
 2sg-die-FUT₂ badly-FUT₂ 2sg-be-CLOS-INTR 2sg-sweat-FUT₂ 2sg+eat
 ‘You will die, you will live badly, you will sweat in order to eat’

Note that the adverb *niacà* ‘also’ could also be used (§3.6).

3.9.2 Subordination

The following analysis of subordinate clauses is undoubtedly incomplete, due to the scant number of complex sentences in the Maipure corpus. The attested subordinate clauses, however, function in various ways in complex sentences. There are complement (nominal) clauses or adjectival (relative) clauses. There are also adverbial clauses indicating time, similarity (simile clauses), purpose, cause, condition (protases of conditionals), result, concession, or the “undesirability” of events that might happen and should be avoided (“lest” clauses).

The clausal subordinators in the data, besides the six conjunctions listed in §3.6, include the relative marker *-ri* and four morphemes found with active verbs which might be affixes as well as clitics: *-uati* ‘when’ (§3.9.2.2.1), *-pucùmi* (the exact function is undetermined; §3.9.2.2.1), *-naunà* ‘purposive’ (§3.9.2.2.3), and *-macumà* ‘irrealis’ (§2.3.2.2.4).

3.9.2.1 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses, as in Yavitero and Baniva (cf. Mosonyi 1987:92–93 and Aikhenvald 1998:270), seem only to fill the functional slot of the object within their sentence. They do not receive any special marker.

- (177) pi-taa vekè yacapi uaca pacatià
 2sg-give 1pl+to today 1pl+eat always
 ‘Give us today the possibility to eat always’
- (178) ... naumari pi-vià ma-àrru-teni capi
 ... therefore 2sg-know PRIV-dress-PRIV you
 ‘... this is why you know that you are naked’
- (179) iti ica-ri piche ma-àrru-teni capi
 who show-REL 2sg+to PRIV-dress-PRIV you
 ‘Who has shown you that you are naked?’

3.9.2.1.1 Direct quotations

Direct quotations, viz. nominal clauses as objects of verbs of speaking, are widely documented in the text in M1 (see §4). All quotations here are direct. There is no indirect speech. Every utterance

by one person is followed or interrupted by a quote formula which specifies the identity of the speaker or makes their identification possible (see [180], [181], [201], and [202]).

- (180) ununà neca ma niche
 all 2pl+eat say 3pl+to
 ‘“Eat everything,” he (God) said to them (Adam and Eve)’
- (181) nuca neca-chè ma niche ni-mavà-macumà
 NEG 2pl+eat-3sgnf say 3pl+to 2pl-die-IRR
 ‘“Don’t eat it (the fruit),” he (God) said to them (Adam and Eve), “you might die”’

3.9.2.2 Adverbial clauses

3.9.2.2.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal subordinate clauses with an active predicate are marked by the suffix (or enclitic) *-uati* that follows, in one type, the relativizing enclitic *-ri* (182–184, 188) and, in another type, the morpheme *-pucùmi* (121).

- (182) nu-mià-ri-uati timachi ...
 1sg-kill-REL-when fish
 ‘When I fish (lit. when I kill some fish) ...’
- (183) neca-ri-uati ni-mavà-chiacò
 2pl+eat-REL-when 2pl-die-FUT₂
 ‘When you eat it (the fruit), you will die’

In temporal clauses with *-ri*, but not apparently in those with *-pucùmi*, if the subject is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, a further (switch-referencing) marker of subordination is used. This is the independent form (conjunction) *uati* which is placed in initial position (184, 188).

- (184) uati ju-nàva-ri-uati umèni numacù iche tapunà Vasùri
 when.DS 3sgf-see-REL-when snake mouth to enter devil
 ‘When she (Eve) saw it (the fruit), the devil entered the mouth of a snake’

On the other hand, temporal clauses of the two types share, probably, an ordering determined by the contemporaneity or not of the action described with that of the main clause. In fact, it is probable but not certain (since that in [121] is the only subordinate clause with *-pucùmi* in our data) that temporal clauses, independently of the way in which they are formed, follow the main clause if the action described is prior to the action of the main clause (as happens in [121] and [188]) or precede the main clause if the action described takes place contemporaneously with the action of the main clause (as happens in [183] and [184]).¹¹⁴

Postposed subordinate clauses marked by *-uati* also seem to have an additional nuance: (at least) a causal connotation in the case of those with *-ri* (188), and (at least) a concessive connotation in the case of those with *-pucùmi* (121).

¹¹⁴ Cf. analogous ordering of temporal and main clauses in Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:279–80).

3.9.2.2.2 Simile clauses

Simile clauses have an initial conjunction *veia* ‘as’ and the enclitic *-ri* ‘relative’. They follow the main clause, as we may observe in (188) and (185).

- (185) eno icuti-ri ve ua-cania-ca-u peni iati veia
 sky in.BOUNDED-?REL¹¹⁵ as 1pl-be-CLOS-INTR earth on.FLAT as
 pi-jàsa-ri vi-ina
 2sg-want-REL 1pl-with
 ‘As in heaven, we are on earth, as you want together with us’

3.9.2.2.3 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are optionally marked with *-nauna* ‘purposive’ (§3.3.1.4(i); compare [89] and [186]) and follow the main clause.

- (186) pi-taà nuche anteojo nu-navà nicù urrùpu
 2sg-give 1sg+to spyglass 1sg-look inside star
 ‘Give me the spyglass to look at the stars’
 (187) pi-jatànapà-chiacò peca
 2sg-sweat-FUT₂ 2sg+eat
 ‘You will sweat in order to eat’

3.9.2.2.4 “Lest” clauses

A “lest” subordinate clause describes a situation which is unpleasant or harmful; the main clause may refer to some precaution which should be taken (to try) to avoid it. Example (95) illustrates this. The main clause may also refer to some action or event which, if it did not occur, would give rise to the unpleasant or harmful consequences expressed by the “lest” clause. Example (188) is of the latter type.

The sole marker for “lest” is *-macumà* ‘irrealis’ (§3.3.1.4(iii)). “Lest” clauses may follow the main clause, as in (95), or they may be embedded within it and combined with another subordinate clause. (188) is an example of a three-clause sentence consisting of a main, a “lest”, and a temporal clause, in which the temporal clause is subordinated to the “lest” one which is subordinated to the main one. (The two subordinate clauses are underlined.)

- (188) Atani niacà ju-tàa-macumà¹¹⁶ ju-nichini anitu uati nuca
 Adam also 3sgf-give-IRR 3sgf-heart son+mother when.DS NEG
 eca-ri-uati¹¹⁷ eca-chè
 eat-REL-when eat-3sgnf
 ‘Adam, too, for fear that his wife would grieve (lit. would give her heart) because (after) he had not eaten it (the fruit), ate it’

3.9.2.2.5 Causal clauses

These clauses are marked by means of the initial conjunction *sapàni* ‘because’ and are apparently postposed to the main clause.

- (189) cavi-chiacò [pi] pi-nupà ... sapàni pi-masavà canà
 painfully-FUT₂ 2sg-give.birth because 2sg-disobey me
 ‘You will bear (children) with pain ... because you have disobeyed me’
 (190) ... sapàni nu-taà piche pi-anitu
 because 1sg-give 2sg+to 2sg-son+mother
 ‘... because I gave to you your wife’

3.9.2.2.6 Conditionals and counterfactuals

Conditional and counterfactual sentences have the same form. In both types, the conjunction *naà* ‘if’ introduces the protasis and *-macumà* ‘irrealis’ completes the apodosis (§3.3.1.4(iii)).

- (191) naà ni-turrùpa Piòsu jucuà-re nuca ni-mavà-macumà
 if 3pl-obey God word-POSS NEG 3pl-die-IRR
 ‘If they had obeyed God’s word, they would not have died’
 (192) na[j]a nuca umà cavi nuca ua-canià-macumà-u
 if NEG make us NEG 1pl-be-IRR-INTR
 ‘If he (God) had not made us, we would not exist (be)’
 (193) naà ni-vià {P}iòsu nuca ni-mapita-macumà-u
 if 3pl-know God NEG 3pl-flee-IRR-INTR
 ‘If they knew God, they would not flee’

3.9.2.2.7 Result clauses

These are introduced by the conjunction *naumari* ‘therefore’ and follow their main clause.

- (194) juàni-chè pieta naumari nu-turà niche piàu
 be.near-3sgnf holiday therefore 1sg-speak 2pl+to before
 ‘It is near, the holiday, therefore I speak to you before it’
 (195) nu-neca-cà-u ... naumari nu-meniqua-cà-u
 1sg-be.ashamed-CLOS-INTR ... therefore 1sg-hide.oneself-CLOS-INTR
 ‘I am ashamed ... for this I have hidden myself’

3.9.2.2.8 Concessive clauses

There is only one example of a clause of concession in the corpus. It uses the conjunction *nicamà* ‘although’ and precedes its main clause.

¹¹⁵ See note 141.

¹¹⁶ Read *ju-taà-macumà*.

¹¹⁷ Read *èca-ri-uati*. The accent should be relocated on the verb stem as in (182) and (184).

- (196) ni-turà nicamà ua-jucua-re nuca ua-pure{n}à canì mapita-chiò-ni —
 3pl-speak although 1pl-language-POSS NEG 1pl-relative they flee-NOMLZR-PL —
 paura canì
 be.another they
 ‘Although they speak our language, the fugitives are not our relatives. They are non-Maipure (lit. are others)’

3.9.2.3 Relative clauses

Maipure forms relative clauses by means of the relativizing enclitic *-ri*. There is no surface relative pronoun form as such (M1, p. 167).

Relative clauses usually modify a head noun, as shown in (81b), (105), and (197).

- (197) Pare ta-ri-ò¹¹⁸ ni-tàmi
 Father come-REL-INTR 2pl/3pl-with
 ‘The Father who came with you/them’

Headless relative clauses also exist, as can be seen in (115) and (116).

3.10 Discourse phenomena

The absence of spontaneous narrative texts obviously means that it is not possible to make systematic observations about discourse phenomena in Maipure. However, by means of the text in M1, certain observations can be made about some discourse patterns, and these will be described briefly in the following subsections.

3.10.1 Ellipsis and anaphora

Judging from the text in M1 (and also from the fragments of conversation included in the *Saggio di storia americana*) it is possible to conclude that the Maipure discourse must have been highly elliptical (see §3.8.5).¹¹⁹ In the examples that follow, we can observe that the absence of a full subject may function anaphorically.

- (198) Piòsu pin{à} camonèe uma-chi-rri ... niapà jasa cavì naumari
 God only man make-NOMLZR-EMPH ... then will us therefore
 uma cavì — nuca uma-macumà ebacari camonèe ...
 make us — NEG make-IRR many man ...
 ‘Only God is the (true) creator of man. ... Then he willed us, therefore he made us. He did not make many men. ...’

¹¹⁸ The accent should be placed on the stem of the verb.

¹¹⁹ A characteristic also reported regarding the discourse of Baniva, Baré, and Tariana (cf. Aikhenvald 1998:247, 1995:50, forthcoming:sec. 25.2).

- (199) Eva (ju-)ta-mà-u ju-navà naucare-ti — ju-nuà ju-vì
 Eve 3sgf-go-PAST-INTR 3sgf-see dwelling-NPOSS — 3sgf-come 3sgf-be.in.front
 aa tinacà ... cunè-minè ju-nàva-chè — uati ju-nàva-ri-upati
 tree fruit ... sweetly-AUG 3sgf-see-3sgnf — when.DS 3sgf-see-REL-when
 umèni numacù iche tapunà Vasùri — iquà turà juche —
 snake mouth to enter devil — then speak 3sgf+to —
 peca-chè ma juche cunè-minè-chè ...
 2sg+eat-3sgnf say 3sgf+to be.sweet-AUG-3sgnf ...
 ‘Eve went to see the dwelling place. She came to be in front of the (tree) fruit ... She looked at it with great relish. When she saw it, the devil entered the mouth of a snake. Then he spoke to her. “Eat it,” he said to her, “it is very sweet” ...’

3.10.2 Influence of pragmatic factors on clausal constituent order

The text in M1 also suggests that constituent order in clauses is sensitive to pragmatic factors in Maipure. It suggests, in particular, that contrastive and topical objects are introduced in preverbal position (see, respectively, [46] and [180]), that a contrastive transitive subject is postposed to the verb (188, 200), and that a focused or topicalized contrastive subject, in an equational verbless clause, is preposed, and not postposed, to the predicate (see [32] and its original Italian translation in appendix A).

- (200) nuca ni-mava-cà ma menia-càu Vasùri naumari jaca-chè Eva
 NEG 2pl-die-CLOS say deceive-3sgf devil therefore 3sgf+eat-3sgnf Eve
 ‘“You will not die,” the devil said, deceiving her (lit. (and) he deceived her), therefore Eve ate it’

Moreover, the same text indicates that the postverbal placement of a transitive subject is typical of quote margins for citations.

- (201) umèni menià canà ju-mà Eva naumari naca
 snake deceive me 3sgf-say Eve therefore 1sg+eat
 ‘“The snake deceived me,” Eve said, “therefore I ate”’
 (202) cavì-chiacò [pi] pi-nupà ma juche Piosu sapani pi-masavà canà
 painfully-FUT₂ 2sg-give.birth say 3sgf+to God because 2sg-disobey me
 ‘“You will bear (children) with pain,” God said to her, “because you have disobeyed me”’

Furthermore, this text shows two instances in which an NP is introduced in a clause as an afterthought; see *pieta* in (194) and *aà tinacà sonirri-minè* in (203). ([204] is an analogous example from M4.)

- (203) niapà ica-chè niche aà tinacà sonirri-minè
 then show-3sgnf 3pl+to tree fruit beautiful-AUG
 ‘Then he (God) showed it to them (Adam and Eve), a very beautiful (tree) fruit’

- (204) maisuini-che Pare — sènichi
 be.bad-3sgnf Father — be.stingy
 ‘He is bad, the Father. He is stingy’

3.10.3 Clefting

Maipure forms clefts by (a) extracting a nominal constituent from a clause, (b) predicating that constituent to a third person pronoun agreeing with it in number, and gender in the singular, and (c) modifying it with a relative clause formed, *mutatis mutandi* (see the enclitic personal pronoun in [206]), from the remainder of the original clause.

- (205) Piòsu-chè nu-purià-ri inà niche
 God-3sgnf 1sg-tell-REL with 2pl+to
 ‘It is God about whom I speak to you (lit. it is God whom I tell to you with it (my talk))’
- (206) Piòsu-chè umà-ri-vi nàumari¹²⁰ ua-cania-cà-u
 God-3sgnf make-REL-1pl therefore 1pl-be-CLOS-INTR
 ‘It is God who made us, therefore we exist (are)’

Clefting appears to be employed to mark focus, as happens in many other languages.

3.10.4 Segmental markers of emphasis

A statement may be emphasized with a vocative—for example a proper noun or a relational term (e.g. *naunàri* ‘friend (male)’)—, as illustrated in (152) and (156).

The presence of *-rri* seems to indicate a strong emphasis on certain constituents of the clause. Examples (124) and (126) show *-rri* on numerals and (32) and (151) on predicate NPs.

3.10.5 Discourse particles

The two recorded discourse particles, *iquà* and *niapà*, were presented in §3.7.

4 Texts

The format of this chapter is as follows: first are exact replicas of the texts in M1 (a biblical legend; cf. Genesis 2-3) and M2 (the Lord’s Prayer); then follow their original Italian translations; and lastly, the same texts with morpheme boundaries marked and interlinear morpheme glosses, with a free English translation under the morphemic analysis.

Misprints transparent in both texts and other irregularities (nouns that do not take the agreement appropriate for their gender) observed in the text in M1, signalled by notes in the replicas, have been corrected in the versions of the texts presented with the morphemic analysis.

Having in all probability been transcribed by Gilij from one or more native speakers who translated them from Spanish, the two available Maipure texts perhaps also contain syntactic calques from Spanish. Unfortunately, due to our incomplete knowledge of the language, it is impossible to identify these with certainty.

4.1 Speech about the creation of man

RAGIONAMENTO IN MAIPURE SULLA CREAZIONE DELL’UOMO

Nupuriacà nijucuàre. Juànichè *pieta*; naumari nuturà niche piàu. *Piòsuchè* nupuriàri inà niche. *Piòsuchè* umàri-vi: nàumari¹²¹ uacaniacàu. Naja¹²² nuca umà cavi, nuca uacaniàmacumàu. Nuca seccàcuni camonèe nupà manàni. *Piòsu* pinè¹²³ camonèe umachirri. Papujatàmi nuca camonèe nicaniacàu. Niapà jàsa cavi: naumari uma cavi. Nuca umamacumà ebacari camonèe: avanumè pinà umà. Umà cajarrachini *Atàni-rri* iti. Umà niacà tiniochi: taà juti *Eva*. Nuà cani *Paraiso Terrestre* icuti. Sonirri-minè nicaniacàu iche. Naà niturrùpa *Piòsu* jucuàre, nuca nimavàmacumà. *Piòsu* puriacà nijucuàre: ununà neca, ma niche. Niapà icachè niche aà tinacà sonirri-minè. Nuca necachè, ma niche: nimavàmacumà. Necari uati, nimavà-chiacò. Naà pinà uàti turà. Tamàu niapà niitua. *Eva* tamàu¹²⁴ junavà naucaretì. Junuà juvi aa-tinacà; necamachè, *Piosu* mapucùmi uati. Cunè minè junàva-chè. Uati junàvari uati, umèni numacù-iche tapunà Vasuri. Iquà turà juche: pecachè, ma juche, cunè-minèchè. Nucamà, jumà juche¹²⁵ papujà *Eva*: Uamavà-macumà. Nuca nimavacà, ma, meniacàu Vasuri. Naumari jacachè *Eva*. Niapà jutacàu jutùca purenà juccàpi-iche. Juicachè *Atani* juche.¹²⁶ *Atani* niacà, jutàa-macumà¹²⁷ junichini anitu, uati nuca ecarì uati,¹²⁸ ecachè. Niapà *Piòsu*, merracàu niche. Uacàti parè-pi, *Atani*, ma juche.¹²⁹ Nunecacàu, ma *Atani*; naumari numeniquacàu:

¹²¹ A misprint for *naumari*.

¹²² A misprint for *naà*.

¹²³ A misprint for *pinà*.

¹²⁴ Wrong agreement of gender with *Eva*; an error for *jutamàu*.

¹²⁵ Wrong agreement of gender with *umèni* ‘snake’; an error for *iche* (Ø-iche).

¹²⁶ Wrong agreement of gender with *Atani*; an error for *iche*.

¹²⁷ See note 116.

¹²⁸ See note 117.

¹²⁹ Another case of wrong agreement of gender with the name *Atani*; an error for *iche*.

¹²⁰ Read *naumari*.

maàrruteni canà, ma. Iti icari piche, maàrruteni capi? ma juche¹³⁰ *Piòsu*: nuca piturrùpa nujucuàre, ma iche; naumari pivià maàrruteni capi: pimavà-chiacò; maisuini chiacò picaniacàu; pijatànapà-chiacò peca, ma iche. Turà niacà *Eva* juche, vejacàu. Umèni menià canà, jumà *Eva*; naumari naca. Cavi chiacò pi¹³¹ pinupà, ma juche *Piosu*, sapàni pimasavà canà. Niapà uanacaré *Angeli* terruà cani *Paraiso*-iquà iche peni uaccaniàrio iati. Naà niturrùpa *Piòsu* jucuàre pacatià nicaniacàu sonirri: nuca nimavà-macumà. Jacàpi uamavacà uajà¹³² nitianimi, sapàni nuca nitturrùpa *Piòsui-che*.¹³³

TRADUZIONE LETTERALE

Vi parlo. Essa è vicina la festa; perciò parlo a voi prima. Egli è Dio di cui vi parlo. Egli è Dio, che fece noi: perciò ci siamo. Se non ci avesse fatto, non ci saremmo. Non sa l'uomo nascer da sé. Iddio solo è il Creatore dell'uomo. Anticamente non vi furono uomini. Dipoi ci volle: perciò ci fece. Non fece molti Uomini. Due soli ne fece. Fece il maschio, *Adamo* il suo nome. Fece ancora la donna. Le diede il suo nome *Eva*. Gli pose nel Paradiso terrestre. Benissimo stettero ivi. Se avessero risposto (ubbidito) alla parola di Dio, non sarebbero morti. Iddio parlò loro: mangiate tutto, disse loro. Dopo mostrò loro il frutto di un albero bellissimo. Non ne mangiate, disse loro, perché non muojate. Quando ne mangerete, morrete. Così parlò. Andò poi da loro. (si allontanò da loro). Eva andò a vedere il paese.¹³⁴ S'incontrò col frutto dell'albero, *non ne mangiate*, di cui detto Iddio aveva. Gratissimo lo vide. Vedendolo, il Demonio entrò in bocca di una serpe. Indi parlolle: mangialo, le disse; è saporitissimo. Nò [*sic*] disse prima Eva; temo che muojamo. Non morrete, disse ingannandola il Demonio. Questo fece (perciò) che lo mangiò Eva. Dipoi andò a portare i parenti (altri simili frutti) nella sua mano. Gli mostrò ad Adamo. Adamo ancora temendo, che la sua moglie non desse il cuore, (non si contristasse)¹³⁵ non mangiandone, gli mangiò. Dopo Iddio apparve loro. Ove sei Adamo? gli disse. Mi vergogno, disse Adamo; per questo mi sono nascosto. Sono senza veste, disse. Chi ti ha mostrato, che sei senza veste, gli disse. Non hai ubbidito alla mia parola, gli disse; perciò sai, che sei senza veste. Morrai, starai male, suderai per mangiare, gli disse. Parlò ancora ad Eva, riprendendola. Il serpente ha ingannato me, disse Eva; perciò ho mangiato. Con dolore partorirai, le disse Iddio, in paga di avermi disubbidito. Dopo ordinò ad un angelo, che gli cacciasse dal Paradiso terrestre nella terra, nella quale stiamo. Se avessimo ubbidito a Dio, sempre sarebbero stati bene: non sarebber morti. Ora muojamo noi loro figliuoli in paga di aver essi disubbidito a Dio.

- (1) nu-puria-cà ni-jucua-re
1sg-tell-CLOS 2pl-talk-POSS
'I tell your talk (i.e. I speak to you)'

- (2) juàni-chè pieta naumari nu-turà niche piàu
be.near-3sgnf holiday therefore 1sg-speak 2pl+to before
'It is near, the holiday, therefore I speak to you before it'

- (3) Piòsu-chè nu-puria-ri inà niche
God-3sgnf 1sg-tell-REL with 2pl+to
'It is God about whom I speak to you (lit. it is God whom I tell to you with it (my talk))'
- (4) Piòsu-chè umà-ri-vi nàumari¹³⁶ ua-cania-cà-u
God-3sgnf make-REL-1pl therefore 1pl-be-CLOS-INTR
'It is God who made us, therefore we exist (are)'
- (5) na[j]a nuca umà cavi nuca ua-canià-macumà-u
if NEG make us NEG 1pl-be-IRR-INTR
'If he had not made us, we would not exist (be)'
- (6) nuca seccàcuni camonée nupà manàni
NEG know.how.to man be.born ?by.oneself
'Man does not know how to be born by himself'
- (7) Piòsu pin{à} camonée uma-chi-rrì
God only man make-NOMLZR-EMPH
'Only God is the (true) creator of man'
- (8) papujatàmi nuca camonée ni-cania-cà-u
long.time.ago NEG man 3pl-be-CLOS-INTR
'A long time ago there were no men'
- (9) niapà jasa cavi naumari uma cavi
then will us therefore make us
'Then he willed us, therefore he made us'
- (10) nuca uma-macumà ebacari camonée avanumè pinà umà
NEG make-IRR many man two+CL.HUMAN only make
'He did not make many men. He made only two (men)'
- (11) umà cajarrachini Atàni-rrì iti
make male Adam-EMPH name
'He made the male. His name is (exactly) Adam'
- (12) umà niacà tiniocchi taà juti Eva
make also female give 3sgf+name Eve
'He made the female, too. He called her Eve (lit. he gave her name Eve)'
- (13) nuà cani Paraiso Terrestre icuti
put.down them Earthly Paradise in.BOUNDED
'He put them down into the Earthly Paradise'
- (14) sonirri-minè ni-cania-cà-u iche
well-AUG 3pl-be-CLOS-INTR there
'They found themselves to be very well there (lit. they were very well there)'

¹³⁰ *Ut sup.* Evidently, the Maipure who translated the text completely forgot that only Eve is a woman!

¹³¹ A false start of the following word.

¹³² Read *uàja*.

¹³³ A misprint for *Piosu-iche*.

¹³⁴ Probably 'luogo della dimora' ('dwelling place'); cf. the Italian translation of the sentence *Eva ndàine pata jeneccè* from the Tamanaco version of the same text: 'Eva andò a vedere il paese (*luogo della loro dimora*)' (M1, pp. 211).

¹³⁵ An inexact translation of the clause *jutàa-macumà junichini anitu*; really, 'che la sua moglie desse il cuore, (si contristasse)'.
¹³⁶ Read *naumari*, as indicated in note 120.

- (15) naà ni-turrùpa Piòsu jucuà-re nuca ni-mavà-macumà
if 3pl-obey God word-POSS NEG 3pl-die-IRR
'If they had obeyed God's word, they would not have died'
- (16) Piòsu puria-cà ni-jucuà-re ununà neca ma niche
God tell-CLOS 3pl-talk-POSS all 2pl+eat say 3pl+to
'God told their talk (i.e. spoke to them). "Eat everything," he said to them'
- (17) niapà ica-chè niche aà tinacà sonirri-minè
then show-3sgnf 3pl+to tree fruit beautiful-AUG
'Then he showed it to them, a very beautiful (tree) fruit'
- (18) nuca neca-chè ma niche ni-mavà-macumà
NEG 2pl+eat-3sgnf say 3pl+to 2pl-die-IRR
'"Don't eat it," he said to them, "you might die"'
- (19) neca-ri-uati ni-mavà-chiacò
2pl+eat-REL-when 2pl-die-FUT₂
'"When you eat it, you will die"'
- (20) naà pinà-uàti turà tà-ma-u niapà ni-itua
if only-when speak go-PAST-INTR then 3pl-from
'Thus he spoke. Then he went away from them'
- (21) Eva (ju-)ta-mà-u ju-navà naucare-ti
Eve 3sgf-go-PAST-INTR 3sgf-see dwelling-NPOSS
'Eve went to see the dwelling place'
- (22) ju-nuà ju-vì aa tinacà
3sgf-come 3sgf-be.in.front tree fruit
'She came to be in front of the (tree) fruit'
- (23) neca-ma(ca)-chè Piosu ma-pucùmi-uati cunè-minè ju-nàva-chè
2pl+eat-PROH-3sgnf God say-??-when sweetly-AUG 3sgf-look-3sgnf
'after God had said "Don't eat it". She looked at it with great relish'
- (24) uati ju-nàva-ri-uati umèni numacù iche tapunà Vasùri
when.DS 3sgf-see-REL-when snake mouth to enter devil
'When she saw it, the devil entered the mouth of a snake'
- (25) iquà turà juche peca-chè ma juche cunè-minè-chè
then speak 3sgf+to 2sg+eat-3sgnf say 3sgf+to be.sweet-AUG-3sgnf
'Then he spoke to her. "Eat it," he said to her, "it is very sweet"'
- (26) nucamà ju-mà {i}che papujà Eva ua-mavà-macumà
no 3sgf-say to at.first Eve 1pl-die-IRR
'"No," Eve said to him at first, "we might die"'
- (27) nuca ni-mava-cà ma menia-càu Vasùri
NEG 2pl-die-CLOS say deceive-3sgf devil
'"You will not die," the devil said, deceiving her (lit. (and) he deceived her)'

- (28) naumari jaca-chè Eva niapà ju-ta-cà-u ju-tuca
therefore 3sgf+eat-3sgnf Eve then 3sgf-go-CLOS-INTR 3sgf-bring
'therefore Eve ate it. Then she went to bring'
- (29) purenà ju-ccàpi iche ju-ica-chè Atani {i}che
relative 3sgf-hand to 3sgf-show-3sgnf Adam to
'another (tree) fruit (lit. its relative) back in her hand. She showed it to Adam'
- (30) Atani niacà ju-taà-macumà¹³⁷ ju-nichini anitu
Adam also 3sgf-give-IRR 3sgf-heart son+mother
'Adam, too, for fear that his wife would grieve (lit. would give her heart)'
- (31) uati nuca eca-ri-uati¹³⁸ eca-chè
when.DS NEG eat-REL-when eat-3sgnf
'because (after) he had not eaten it, ate it'
- (32) niapà Piòsu merra-cà-u niche uacàti parè-pi Atani
then God appear-CLOS-INTR 3pl+to where wh-2sg Adam
'Then God appeared to them. "Where are you? Adam!"'
- (33) ma {i}che nu-neca-cà-u ma Atani naunari
say to 1sg-be.ashamed-CLOS-INTR say Adam therefore
'he said to him. "I am ashamed," Adam said, "for this"'
- (34) nu-meniqua-cà-u ma-àrru-teni canà ma
1sg-hide.oneself-CLOS-INTR PRIV-dress-PRIV I say
'I have hidden myself. I am naked," he said'
- (35) iti ica-ri piche ma-àrru-teni capi ma {i}che Piòsu
who show-REL 2sg+to PRIV-dress-PRIV you say to God
'"Who has shown you that you are naked?" God said to him'
- (36) nuca pi-turrùpa nu-jucuà-re ma iche
NEG 2sg-obey 1sg-word-POSS say to
'"You have not obeyed my word," he said to him'
- (37) naumari pi-vià ma-àrru-teni capi
therefore 2sg-know PRIV-dress-PRIV you
'"this is why you know that you are naked"'
- (38) pi-mavà-chiacò maisuini-chiacò pi-cania-cà-u pi-jatànàpà-chiacò
2sg-die-FUT₂ badly-FUT₂ 2sg-be-CLOS-INTR 2sg-sweat-FUT₂
'"You will die, you will live badly, you will sweat"
- (39) peca ma iche turà niacà Eva juche veja-càu
2sg+eat say to speak also Eve 3sgf+to reproach-3sgf
'in order to eat," he said to him. He spoke to Eve too, reproaching her'

¹³⁷ See note 116.¹³⁸ See note 117.

- (40) umèni menià canà ju-mà Eva naumari naca
snake deceive me 3sgf-say Eve therefore 1sg+eat
'“The snake deceived me,” Eve said, “therefore I ate”'
- (41) cavi-chiacò [pi] pi-nupà ma juche Piosu sapàni
painfully-FUT₂ 2sg-give.birth say 3sgf+to God because
'“You will bear (children) with pain,” God said to her, “because”'
- (42) pi-masavà canà niapà uanacaré Angeli terruà canì
2sg-disobey me then order angel chase.out them
'you have disobeyed me.” Then he ordered an angel to chase them out'
- (43) Paraiso iquà iche peni ua-ccanià-ri-o iati
Paradise from to earth 1pl-be-REL-INTR on.FLAT
'of Paradise to the earth on which we live (are)'
- (44) naà ni-turrùpa Piòsu jucua-re pacatià ni-cània-cà-u sonirri
if 3pl-obey God word-POSS always 3pl-be-CLOS-INTR well
'If they had obeyed God's word, they would always have been well'
- (45) nuca ni-mavà-macumà jacàpi ua-mava-cà uajà¹³⁹ ni-tianimi
NEG 3pl-die-IRR now 1pl-die-CLOS we 3pl-child
'They would not have died. Now we, their children (sons), die'
- (46) sapàni nuca ni-tturùpa Piòsu[i] (i)che
because NEG 3pl-obey God to
'because they did not obey God'

4.2 The Lord's Prayer

Ua-kivacane eno-icutiri picaniau nivìa pànica¹⁴⁰ pi-ti. Picapia cavi pinaucare-ike. Eno-icutiri¹⁴¹ ve uacaniacau peni-iati veìa piàjàsari¹⁴² vi-ina. Pitaà vekè yacapi uaca pacatià. Pikinanà cavi veìa uakinanari-ina matiberi caniacau uaike. Nuca pivèka vasuri menià cavi. Pivèka vettua maisuini.

Nostro-padre cielo-in tua-dimora,¹⁴³ essi-conoscano di grazia tuo-nome: tu-porti noi tua-abitazione a: cielo-in come, noi-stiamo terra-in come tu-vuoi noi-con. Tu-dà ci oggi noi-mangiamo sempre: tu-perdona noi, come noi-perdoniamo-ancora cattivo-che è a-noi: non tu-lasci diavolo inganni noi: tu-levi da-noi male.

- (1) ua-kivacane eno icuti-ri pi-cania-(ca)-u ni-vià-pànica¹⁴⁴
1pl-father sky in.BOUNDED-REL 2sg-be-CLOS-INTR 3pl-know-OPTATIVE
'Our Father who art in heaven. May they know'
- (2) piti pi-capi-a cavi pi-naucare ike eno icuti-ri ve
2sg+name 2sg-hand-VBLZR us 2sg-dwelling to sky in.BOUNDED-?REL as
'your name. Take us to your dwelling. As in heaven'
- (3) ua-cania-ca-u peni iati veìa pi-[a]jàsa-ri vi-ina
1pl-be-CLOS-INTR earth on.FLAT as 2sg-want-REL 1pl-with
'we are on earth, as you want together with us'
- (4) pi-taa vekè yacapi uaca pacatià pi-kinanà cavi veìa
2sg-give 1pl+to today 1pl+eat always 2sg-forgive us as
'Give us today the possibility to eat always. Forgive us, as'
- (5) ua-kinana-ri-ina matibe-ri cania-ca-u ua-ike nuca pi-vèka
1pl-forgive-REL-CONT be.bad-REL be-CLOS-INTR 1pl-to NEG 2sg-let
'we are forgiving those who are bad to us. Do not let'
- (6) vasuri menià cavi pi-vèka vettua maisuini
devil deceive us 2sg-take.away 1pl+from bad
'the devil deceive us. Take the bad (things) away from us'

¹³⁹ Read *uàja*, as stated in note 132.

¹⁴⁰ A misprint for *panicà*.

¹⁴¹ Inexplicable use of the *-ri* 'relative' marker (§3.3.1.5). Perhaps this is an error attributable to Hervás y Panduro who received the text from Giliĵ, and noted that a preceding sequence *eno-icutiri* was (inaccurately) translated as 'cielo-in'. He could have believed that the form *icutiri* was the correct postposition to use with *eno* 'sky' (see §3.2).

¹⁴² A misprint for *pijàsari*.

¹⁴³ *eno-icutiri picaniau*, or better *eno icuti-ri pi-cania-ca-u* (with the “empty morph” *-cà*; see §3.3.1.1), is really a relative clause and should therefore be translated 'who art in heaven' ('che sei in cielo') rather than, literally, 'in heaven your dwelling'.

¹⁴⁴ Read *-panicà*, as indicated in note 140.

- (135) M1:299-300 Il padre ci vede
 (136) M1:209 Il serpente ha ingannato me
 (137) M1:209 Iddio parlò loro
 (138) M1:209 Anticamente non vi furono uomini
 (139) M1:376 Mezzogiorno/Sole dritto, o perpendicolare
 (140) M1:197 Mi rallegro di vederti/Il mio cuore allegro, ti miro
 (141) M1:381 Dolor di punta/Mi duole la costola
 (142) M1:189 Dammi il cannocchiale
 (143) M4:160 L'ha dipinta (cioè l'ha scritta) un altro missionario
 (144) M2 Tu-porti noi tua-abitazione a
 (145) M1:300 Remate [*sic*] forte
 (146) M1:315 Non finisco di alzarmi
 (147) M4:176 Non sono parenti nostri i fuggitivi
 (148) M4:196 Io son figlio di regolo
 (149) M1:17 Dicesi, che le stelle siano state qui in terra: adesso sono immortali
 (150) M4:164 I *Tamanàchi* son *Morrocòi*: non mangian *Casàve*: sempre mangiano de' *Morrocòi*
 (151) M1:209 *Adamo* il suo nome
 (152) M1:150 Amico [*sic*], che mangerai tu domani?
 (153) M1:174 Qual cosa è quella, che fa [*sic*]
 (154) M1:312 Quale è il tuo nome?
 (155) M4:139 Chi te l'ha detto?
 (156) M1:209 Ove sei Adamo?
 (157) M4:103 Da dove viene la gente?
 (158) M1:174 Qual cosa fa [*sic*], che non vai
 (159) M4:160 Porta delle nuove?
 (160) M1:187 Mi hai veduto?
 (161) M1:187 Ti ha veduto?
 (162) M4:202 Sei venuto?
 (163) M4:201 Tu?
 (164) M4:202 Un saluto de' *Guipunàvi* usato da' *Maipiri* per festevole imitazione
 (165) M1:174 Sì
 (166) M1:174 Sì
 (167) M1:175 Sì
 (168) M1:175 Sì
 (169) M1:209 Nò [*sic*]
 (170) M4:137 Non v'è
 (171) M4:139 Davvero

- (172) M4:136 Chi sa
 (173) M1:209 Adamo
 (174) M1:150 Amico [*sic*]
 (175) M1:166 Tu parli più dolce degli altri
 (176) M1:209 Morrai, starai male, sude-
 (177) M2 rai per mangiare
 (178) M1:209 Tu-dà ci oggi noi-mangiamo sempre
 (179) M1:209 . . . perciò sai, che sei senza veste
 (180) M1:209 Chi ti ha mostrato, che sei senza veste?
 (181) M1:209 Mangiate tutto, disse loro
 (182) M1:188 Non ne mangiate, disse loro, perché non muojate
 (183) M1:209 Quando ammazzerò del pesce
 (184) M1:209 Quando ne mangerete, morrete
 (185) M2 Vedendolo, il Demonio entrò in bocca di una serpe
 (186) M1:189 Cielo-in come, noi-stiamo terra-in come tu-vuoi noi-con [*sic*]
 (187) M1:209 Dammi il cannocchiale per guardare le stelle
 (188) M1:209 Suderai per mangiare
 (189) M1:209 Adamo ancora temendo, che la sua moglie non desse il cuore, (non si contristasse) [*sic*] non mangiandone, gli mangiò
 (190) M4:246 Con dolore partorirai . . . , in paga di avermi disubbidito
 (191) M1:209 In paga di averti dato moglie
 (192) M1:209 Se avessero risposto (ubbidito) alla parola di Dio, non sarebbero morti
 (193) M4:176 Se non ci avesse fatto, non ci saremmo
 (194) M1:209 Se conoscessero Dio, non fuggirebbero
 (195) M1:209 Essa è vicina la festa; perciò parlo a voi prima
 (196) M4:176 Mi vergogno . . . , per questo mi sono nascosto
 (197) M1:187 Benché parlino il nostro linguaggio, non sono parenti nostri i fuggitivi, né della medesima nazione, ma di un'altra razza
 (198) M1:209 Il padre, il quale venne con voi/con loro

- (198) M1:209 Iddio solo è creatore dell'uomo. . . . Dipoi ci volle: perciò ci fece. Non fece molti Uomini.
 (199) M1:209 Eva andò a vedere il paese. S'incontrò col frutto dell'albero . . . Gratissimo lo vide. Vedendolo, il Demonio entrò in bocca di una serpe. Indi parlolle: mangialo, le disse; è sapotissimo
 (200) M1:209 Non morrete, disse ingannandola il Demonio. Questo fece (perciò) che lo mangiò Eva
 (201) M1:209 Il serpente ha ingannato me, disse Eva; perciò ho mangiato
 (202) M1:209 Con dolore partorirai, le disse Iddio, in paga di avermi disubbidito
 (203) M1:209 Dopo mostrò loro il frutto di un albero bellissimo
 (204) M4:154 Oh! [*sic*] Egli è cattivo . . . è uno spilorcio
 (205) M2 Egli è Dio di cui vi parlo
 (205) M1:209 Egli è Dio, che fece noi: perciò ci siamo

Appendix B: Classified word list

The majority of the words found in the surviving Maipure material have been included in the following list, the exceptions being forms with an uncertain or obscure meaning,¹⁴⁵ unassimilated Spanish loans,¹⁴⁶ and personal names.

The items of the list are arranged in groups as follows.

1 – 14	Pronouns			
15 – 284	Nouns	—	15 – 50	<i>A–Nature</i>
		—	51 – 90	<i>B–Animals</i>
		—	91 – 129	<i>C–Plants</i>
		—	130 – 163	<i>D–Body</i>
		—	164 – 181	<i>E–Spirit</i>
		—	182 – 207	<i>F–Human classification</i>
		—	208 – 225	<i>G–Human relationships</i>
		—	226 – 278	<i>H–Man-made things</i>
		—	279 – 284	<i>I–Place names</i>
285 – 302	Adjectives			
303 – 321	Numerals			
322 – 324	Other nominal modifiers			
325 – 334	Adpositions			
335 – 401	Verbs	—	335 – 390	<i>A–Active verbs</i>
		—	391 – 401	<i>B–Stative verbs</i>
402 – 434	Adverbs			
435 – 455	Conjunctions, particles, greetings, etc.			

Orthographic variants are included when an item is attested with more than a single orthographic realization. Nouns, inflected adpositions, and verbs are listed in their bare-stem form. For each active verb stem class membership (see §3.3.1.1) is indicated by a number in parentheses: (1) potentially-final active verb stem, (2) active verb stem that cannot occur word-finally and does not co-occur with the suffix *-u* ‘intransitive’, (3) active verb stem that cannot occur word-finally and requires the suffixation of *-u*.

The list also includes some idiomatic expressions whose meanings are not obvious. Nativized borrowings from Spanish are followed by the abbreviation (Sp.). The sources attesting the items of the word list are indicated through the abbreviations given in §1.2.

Pronouns (see §3.1.1.1.1)

1.	I	<i>nija</i> M1, <i>nuya</i> M5, M6, M8
2.	you	<i>pia</i> M1, M2, M4, M5, M6, M8
3.	he	<i>ia</i> M1, M5, M6, M8
4.	she	<i>juja</i> M1, <i>yuya</i> M5, M6, M8
5.	we	<i>uaja</i> M1, <i>uaya</i> M2, M5, M6, M8
6.	you, they	<i>nia</i> M1, M2, M5, M6, M8
7.	I, me	• <i>canà</i> M1, M4, M6, M8
		• <i>-na</i> M1, M6
8.	you	• <i>capi</i> M1, M6, M8
		• <i>-pi</i> M1, M4, M6
9.	he, him	• <i>-chè</i> M1, M4, <i>-kè</i> M2, M5, M6, M8, M9
		• \emptyset M1
10.	she, her	<i>-càu</i> M1, M5, M6, M8
11.	we, us	• <i>cavi</i> M1, M2, M6, M8
		• <i>-vi</i> M1, M2
12.	you, they, them	<i>cani</i> M1, M4, M6, M8
13.	that one (non-feminine)	<i>naia</i> M1
14.	who, what	<i>iti</i> M1, M4, M5

Nouns

A–Nature

15.	world	<i>aràu</i> M1
16.	earth, ground	<i>peni</i> M1, M2, M4, M6, M9
17.	mountain	<i>japa</i> M1, <i>yapa</i> M5
18.	stony place	<i>chipa-manà</i> M1 (<i>chipa</i> = ‘stone’) cf. # 39
19.	meadow	<i>pèpuri</i> M1
20.	(sown) field	<i>-menène</i> (non-possessed form: <i>meniti</i>) M1, M4, M6
21.	sky	<i>eno</i> M1, M2, M6, M9
22.	sun	• <i>chiè</i> M1, <i>quie</i> M9
		• <i>kiepurig</i> [sic] M10
23.	splendour of the sun	<i>camoti</i> M4
24.	moon	<i>chejàpi</i> M1, <i>kejapi</i> M9, <i>cajiyapi</i> M10
25.	star	<i>urrupu</i> M1, M4, M9
26.	cloud	<i>tamanà</i> M1
27.	wind	<i>chipucù</i> M1, <i>kipucù</i> M9
28.	thunder	<i>eno</i> M1
29.	lightning	<i>eno-imà</i> M1, M9 cf. # 28
30.	rain	<i>tia</i> M1, M9 (also verb stem, ‘rain’) cf. # 372
31.	deluge	<i>veni murràre</i> M1 (<i>veni</i> = ‘water’) cf. # 34
32.	dew	<i>urrupu-saccarè</i> M4 (lit. ‘spit of the stars’) cf. # 25, 155
33.	white frost	<i>virtì</i> M4 (white frost is said to be present on Mount Chamaku in the Upper Manapiare area)
34.	water, river	<i>ueni</i> M1, M8, M9, <i>veni</i> M1, M3
35.	rapids	<i>ucà</i> M1, <i>ucca</i> M3
36.	small rapids	<i>ucca matìsi mapàra canacapitirri</i> M3 (<i>ucca</i> = ‘rapids’, <i>matìsi</i> = ‘small’, <i>mapàra</i> = ‘Raudal de Atures’ [sic]) cf. #

¹⁴⁵ *janà* (125, 127), *manàni* (119), *manànipinà* (75), *nipinuà* (39), and *pama* (note 106).

¹⁴⁶ *antejo* (186), *cristiano* (1), and *Paraíso* (*Terrestre*) (67, 113).

37. lake *cavià* M1, M3, M9
 38. sea *paràna* M1, M4
 39. stone, rock *chipa* M1, *kìpa* M9
 40. sand, bank *cainà* M1
 41. salt
 • *ivi* M1 (originally referred to a mineral substance obtained from the ash of the fruit of a k.o. palm)
 • *sajo* (modern) M1 (Sp.: *sal*)
 42. iron *siparàri* M1
 43. gold *cavitta* M4
 44. fire *catti* M1, M9
 45. day *pècumì* M1, M4, M9
 46. night *jatti* M1, M9, *yatti* M8
 47. month *chejàpi* M1, *kejapi* M9 (= 'moon') cf. # 24
 48. summer, dry season, year *camotì* M1, M4, M9 (= 'splendour of the sun') cf. # 23
 49. winter, rainy season *juccumari* M4
 50. time *juvi* M1

B-Animals

51. (wild) animal *queti* M1, M3, M4, *kueti* M9
 52. domestic animal *pia* M1, M3
 53. dog *auri* M1
 54. jaguar *quatichì* M1, *cuatichì* M5, M8
 55. cat *misi* M1 (Sp.: *miccho*)
 56. otter *nevi* M3
 57. deer *majàrro* M1
 58. peccary *apià* M1, M3
 59. tapir *chièma* M1
 60. armadillo *see* M1, M3
 61. capybara *chiàto* M3
 62. mouse *urrùca* M1
 63. manatee *manàti* M1, M3
 64. mico *uavàri* M3
 65. howler monkey *maravè* M3
 66. snake *umèni* M1
 67. crocodile *amanà* M1, M3
 68. iguana *jamanàri* M3
 69. river turtle *arràu* M1, M3, M4
 70. land turtle *curita* M3, M4
 71. bird *siu* M1, M9
 72. k.o. bird *raurràu* M3 (a k.o. bird of the size of a *guacharaca* said to be called *itotocò* in Tamanaco)
urèva M3
 73. parrot *currùmu* M3
 74. black vulture, urubu *suvià* M3
 75. pauxi, helmeted curassow *vissisì* Gilij (1784a:103)
 76. guichichi (k.o. duck) *timachì* M1, M4, *timakì* M6, M9
 77. fish *catàma* M3
 78. cachama *umatì* M3
 79. piranha

80. ray *inatùri* M3
 81. worm *chinitì* M1
 82. bachaco (k.o. ant) *cuchi* M1, M3, M8 (no general word for 'ant')
 83. chigoe *mapachini* M3
 84. cockroach *capaterruò* M3
 85. bee *mapa-chivàcanè* M1 (lit. 'father of the honey') cf. # 86, 210
 86. honey *mapa* M1, M3, M9
 87. wax *mapa-icà* M1 (lit. 'faeces of the honey') cf. # 86, 154
 88. mosquito *aniu* M3
 89. rodador (k.o. mosquito) *mapini* M3
 90. selvaje *vasùri* M3 (an imaginary being similar to a man, but entirely covered in hair, with feet turned backwards, and superlatively libidinous) (= 'devil') cf. # 167

C-Plants

91. tree, wood *aà* M1, M6
 92. forest *aàma* M1, M9 cf. # 91
 93. firewood *catti* M1 (= 'fire') cf. # 44
 94. k.o. wood *ana* M1 (a k.o. wood suitable for making mortars)
 95. papaya *mapàja* M1, M3
 96. banana *aràta* M1, M3 (Sp.: *plátano*; see note 33 in §1.6.1)
 97. cambur (k.o. banana) *currùmu-aràte* M3 (lit. 'banana of the black vulture') cf. # 74, 96
 98. seje (k.o. palm) *pupèrri* M3
 99. chonta (k.o. palm) *uepi* M3
 100. moriche (k.o. palm) *tèvita* M4
 101. k.o. palm *cuti* M3 (a k.o. palm having a short trunk)
 102. k.o. palm *sicuti* M3 (a k.o. palm similar to the *cuti*)
 103. moriche grove *tèvita manà* M4 (*tèvita* = 'k.o. palm') cf. # 100
 104. jobo *chilète* [sic] M3
 105. cashew *urui* M1, M3
 106. k.o. arboreal plant *nupa* M3 (the berries are used in the preparation of an hallucinogenic snuff)
chirràviri M1, M3
 107. chica *curucà* M3, *curuchè* M3
 108. copaiba balsam
 109. achiotè *majapà* M3
 110. yucca *cattichì* M1
 111. manioc, cassava *ussi* M1, M4, *usi* M1
 112. maize *jomuchi* M1
 113. sugar cane
 • *mapa panacarè* M1 (lit. 'planted honey') cf. # 86, 302
 • *mapa* M3 (= 'honey') cf. # 86
 114. chilli pepper *ai* M1, M3
 115. k.o. capsicum *vasùri ainè* M3 (a k.o. capsicum which bears yellow, horn-shaped fruit) (lit. 'devil's chilli pepper') cf. # 114, 167
 116. k.o. fruit-bearing plant *maria* M3 (the fruits are very similar to aubergines)
 117. k.o. fruit-bearing plant *uarrè* M3 (the edible fruits are similar in size and taste to almonds)
 118. gourd *aviamà* M1, M3
 119. watermelon *patia* M3 (Sp.: *patilla*)

120.	bean (generic)	<i>urrùta</i> M1
121.	k.o. bean	<i>urrùta curichini</i> M3 (lit. 'black bean') cf. # 120, 288
122.	sweet potato	<i>chèi</i> M1
123.	yam	<i>aiù</i> M3
124.	mamure (k.o. liana)	<i>nepi</i> M3
125.	k.o. liana	possessed form: <i>-tirripè</i> M1
126.	grass	<i>catuvini</i> M1
127.	leaf	<i>-ipanà</i> M1 (= 'head hair') cf. # 132
128.	flower	<i>-ivi</i> M1
129.	fruit	<i>-tinacà</i> M1

D–Body

130.	body	<i>-uanà</i> M1, M9, <i>-vànà</i> M1
131.	head	<i>-chibucù</i> M1, <i>-kibucù</i> M9
132.	head hair	<i>-ipanà</i> M1, M9 (= 'leaf') cf. # 127
133.	forehead	<i>-auchipà</i> M1, <i>-aukipà</i> M9
134.	space between the eyes, face	<i>-puricù</i> M1, M4, M9
135.	eye	<i>-purichì</i> M1, <i>-purikì</i> M9
136.	eyebrow	<i>-ppuriki-isù</i> M9 (lit. 'hair of the eye') cf. # 135, 151
137.	nose	<i>-chirri</i> M1, <i>-kirri</i> M9
138.	ear	<i>-achini</i> M1, <i>-akina</i> [sic] M8
139.	mouth	<i>-numacù</i> M1, M6, M9
140.	tooth	<i>-eti</i> M1, M9
141.	tongue	<i>-àre</i> M1, M9
142.	neck, throat	<i>-inù</i> M1, M9
143.	arm	<i>-anà</i> M1, M9
144.	hand	<i>-càpi</i> M1, M4, M7, M9, Gilij (1784b), <i>-ccàpi</i> M1
145.	finger	<i>-capi-virrupenà</i> M9, Gilij (1784b) (lit. 'crack of the hand') cf. # 144, 277
146.	heart	<i>-nichini</i> M1, M9
147.	leg	<i>-cavà</i> M9, Gilij (1784b)
148.	foot, toe	<i>-chiù</i> M1, <i>-chi</i> M4, M9, <i>-ki</i> M7
149.	knee	<i>-cumàrachì</i> M1
150.	belly	<i>-urra</i> M1, M9, Gilij (1784b)
151.	body hair	<i>-isù</i> M9
152.	rib	<i>-paà</i> M1
153.	vein	<i>-tirripè</i> M1 (= 'k.o. liana') cf. # 125
154.	faeces	<i>-icà</i> M1
155.	spit	<i>-saccarè</i> M4
156.	catarrh, cold	<i>tumutumu</i> M1
157.	smallpox	<i>chirisi</i> M1
158.	French pox	<i>masuàri</i> M1
159.	fever	<i>puaquì</i> M1
160.	whooping cough	<i>maravè</i> M3 (= 'howler monkey', reference to loud gasps: "dissero a meraviglia in una sola voce gli effetti terribili di questo male, rassomigliandoli al tossire della scimia <i>Aràguato</i> " [M3, p. 69]) cf. # 65
161.	rectitis gangrenosa	<i>viso</i> M1 (Venezuelan Sp.: <i>bicho</i> 'small worm, rectitis

162.	carate (k.o. skin disease)	gangrenosa': "[i] <i>Tamanàchi</i> , e forse gli Orinochesi, dicono essere il <i>Viccio</i> un interno vermetto, il quale, rodendo dapprima la parte posteriore, faccia poi, inoltratosi nelle viscere, il guasto che abbiám descritto" [M4, p. 64])
163.	death	<i>unè</i> M4
		• <i>mavàchiti</i> M1 (<i>-mavà</i> = 'die') cf. # 345
		• <i>upie</i> M8 (perhaps a mistake for 'tomorrow'; cf. # 411)

E–Spirit

164.	supreme being, God	<i>purruna-minàri</i> M1, M9 (<i>-minàri</i> = 'master (male)') cf. # 218
165.	God	<i>piòsu</i> M1, <i>diòsu</i> [sic] M4 (Sp.: <i>Dios</i>)
166.	angel	<i>angeli</i> M1 (Sp.: <i>ángel</i>)
167.	devil	<i>vasùri</i> M1, M2, M9 (= "selvaje") cf. # 90
168.	paradise	<i>eno</i> M1 (= 'sky') cf. # 21
169.	hell	• <i>vasùri-ima</i> M1, M4 (<i>vasùri</i> = 'devil') cf. # 167
		• <i>catti</i> M1, M5 (= 'fire') cf. # 44
170.	Father, missionary	<i>pare</i> M1, M4 (Sp.: <i>Padre</i>)
171.	person saying one's prayers	<i>arresachio</i> M1 (<i>-arresa</i> = 'say one's prayers') cf. # 375
172.	soul, ghost of one who died of natural causes (male)	<i>amitàmìnè</i> M1, M9
173.	ghost of one who died of natural causes	<i>-amitàmicanàmi</i> M1 cf. # 172
174.	ghost of one killed in war or in a private feud	<i>-vasùrenàmi</i> M1 (<i>vasùri</i> = 'devil') cf. # 167
175.	spirit	<i>mavànateni</i> M1 (lit. 'one who has no body') cf. # 130
176.	a mythological being	<i>pittiniti</i> M1 (an immortal being that in times past inhabited the earth and is now a star)
177.	shaman, medicine man	<i>marirri</i> M1, M4 (see note 54 in §3.1.2.1)
178.	medicine	<i>-epena</i> M1
179.	a dance	<i>queti</i> M4 (= '(wild) animal') cf. # 51
180.	a song	<i>mariè marije-jà</i> M4
181.	statuette of chica wood	<i>minariti</i> M4 (statuette of chica wood whom the Maipure asked to reveal far and hidden things; lit., apparently, 'male master') cf. # 218

F–Human classification

182.	person, people	<i>camonèe</i> M1, M4, M5, M7
183.	man, male	<i>cajarrachini</i> M1, <i>cajarakini</i> M9 (perhaps, lit. 'one who has a penis'; see note 67 in §3.1.2.7.2)
184.	woman, female	<i>tiniochi</i> M1, <i>tinioki</i> M5, M8, M9
185.	old man	<i>capèru</i> M1, M5
186.	old woman	<i>capecàu</i> M1, M5
187.	boy	<i>tumètèchì</i> M1, <i>tumeteki</i> M5, M6
188.	girl	<i>tumautochi</i> M1, <i>tumautoki</i> M5, <i>tumòtochi</i> M1
189.	child (son)	<i>-tanimi</i> M1 (translated as 'figliuoli')
190.	married man	<i>caanituchini</i> M1, <i>caanitucchini</i> M1 (<i>-anitu</i> = 'wife') cf. #

191.	married woman	209 <i>caànichivacanèchìni</i> M1 (- <i>ànichivacanè</i> = 'husband') cf. # 208
192.	cacique	<i>pecanàti</i> M1, M4, M6
193.	soldier	<i>soràro</i> M1 (Sp.: <i>soldado</i>)
194.	slave	<i>mero</i> M4
195.	fugitive	<i>mapitachiò</i> M4 (- <i>mapita</i> = 'flee') cf. # 351
196.	Maipure	<i>maipùri</i> M1, M4
197.	Carib	<i>caripùna</i> M3
198.	Tamanaco	<i>tamanàcu</i> M4
199.	Otomaco	<i>otomàcu</i> M1, M6
200.	Spaniard, White person	<i>uavèmi</i> M1, M4
201.	Portuguese	<i>jaranàvi</i> M1
202.	rich person	<i>canuapèchìni</i> M4 (<i>nuapè</i> = 'belongings') cf. # 226
203.	traitor	<i>auca</i> M1
204.	feverish person	<i>mavachiò</i> M1 (<i>mavà</i> = 'die, be ill') cf. # 345
205.	compassionate man	<i>curricàtiuari</i> M1, M5
206.	compassionate woman	<i>curricàtiuau</i> M1, M5
207.	creator, one who makes	<i>umachì</i> M1 (- <i>umà</i> = 'make, do') cf. # 366

G–Human relationships

208.	husband	- <i>ànichivacanè</i> M1, - <i>àni chivacanè</i> M1, M4 (- <i>àni</i> = 'son', - <i>chivacanè</i> = 'father') cf. # 210, 214
209.	wife	- <i>anìtu</i> M1, M4, M5 (- <i>àni</i> = 'son', - <i>itu</i> = 'mother') cf. # 212, 214
210.	father	- <i>chivacanè</i> M1, - <i>kivacane</i> M2, M5 ('my father' = # 211)
211.	my father	<i>napài</i> M1, M5, <i>napè</i> M1, M5, M9
212.	mother	- <i>itu</i> M1, M5, M6, - <i>ittu</i> M1, M5 ('my mother' = # 213)
213.	my mother	<i>inà</i> M1, M6, M9
214.	son, daughter	- <i>àni</i> M1, M4, M5, M6
215.	brother	- <i>ajì</i> M1, - <i>ayi</i> M5
216.	sister	- <i>ajàu</i> M1, - <i>ayàu</i> M5
217.	relative	- <i>purenà</i> M1, M4
218.	master, inhabitant (male)	- <i>minàri</i> M1
219.	friend (male)	- <i>naunàri</i> M1, M4, M5, M8
220.	companion (male)	- <i>tètacànà</i> M1
221.	enemy	- <i>ipuni</i> M1
222.	holiday	<i>pieta</i> M1 (Sp.: <i>fiesta</i>)
223.	village	<i>pinàti</i> M1, M6
224.	name	- <i>iti</i> M1, M2
225.	language, word, talk, news	<i>jucua</i> M1, M4

H–Man-made things

226.	belongings	- <i>nuapè</i> M1, M4
227.	house	- <i>panà</i> (non-possessed form: <i>paniti</i>) M1, M9
228.	dwelling (house, place)	- <i>naucarè</i> M1, M2, M4
229.	hut in which women give birth	<i>quita</i> M4

230.	door	<i>pènuma</i> M1, M8 (- <i>numacù</i> = 'mouth') cf. # 139
231.	chair	<i>sunuàtati</i> M1 (- <i>sunuà</i> = 'sit') cf. # 380
232.	dinner table	<i>ecatì caniatà</i> M1 (<i>ecatì</i> = 'food', - <i>canià</i> 'be, stay') cf. # 264, 337
233.	hammock	<i>amàca</i> M1, M4
234.	knife	<i>mànuri</i> M1, M5
235.	grater	<i>aja</i> M1, <i>aya</i> M5, M8
236.	sieve	<i>manàre</i> M3
237.	pot, plate	<i>tivàu</i> M1, M4
238.	jug	<i>veni-canianicù</i> M1 (<i>veni</i> = 'water', - <i>canià</i> 'be, stay', <i>nicù</i> 'inside') cf. # 34, 337, 422
239.	gourd cup for drinking	<i>caripa</i> M4
240.	mirror	<i>sapo</i> M1
241.	drum	<i>peneke</i> M8
242.	flute	<i>iara</i> M1
243.	paper, letter, book	<i>cujarùta</i> M1, M4 (Sp.: <i>carta</i>)
244.	book case	<i>cujarùta-caniànicù</i> M1 (<i>cujarùta</i> = 'book', - <i>canià</i> 'be, stay', <i>nicù</i> 'inside') cf. # 243, 337, 422
245.	breviary	<i>previàrio</i> M1 (Sp.: <i>breviario</i>)
246.	breviary case	<i>previàrio-arru</i> M1 (lit. 'dress of the breviary') cf. # 245, 249
247.	candle	<i>cantirriti</i> M1 (Sp.: <i>candela</i>)
248.	candlestick	<i>cantirriti-caniànicù</i> M1 (<i>cantirriti</i> = 'candle', - <i>canià</i> 'be, stay', <i>nicù</i> 'inside') cf. # 247, 337, 422
249.	dress	- <i>arru</i> M1, M5, M6
250.	stick	<i>suvi</i> M1
251.	k.o. whip	<i>manacapi</i> M4
252.	arrow	<i>casaripi</i> M1
253.	lance	<i>uavèmi-suvinè</i> M1 (lit. 'Spaniards' stick') cf. # 200, 250
254.	harquebus	<i>eno</i> M1 (= 'thunder') cf. # 28
255.	fish hook	<i>icurià</i> M1
256.	axe	<i>jàva</i> M1, <i>yava</i> M5, M6, M8
257.	scissors	<i>pee</i> M1
258.	needle	<i>jucuèti</i> M1
259.	canoe	- <i>èpua</i> (non-possessed form: <i>quata</i>) M1, M6
260.	paddle	<i>nau</i> M1, M8 (also verb stem, 'paddle') cf. # 369
261.	road	<i>anèpu</i> M1, M9
262.	plaza	<i>ipinà</i> M1
263.	port	<i>anumà</i> M1
264.	food	<i>ecatì</i> M1 (- <i>èca</i> = 'eat') cf. # 348
265.	breakfast	<i>tevacà</i> M4
266.	salted meat	<i>saràru</i> M1
267.	manioc bread	<i>ussi</i> M1, M5, M8, <i>usi</i> M1 (= 'manioc plant') cf. # 111
268.	tobacco	<i>jema</i> M1, <i>yema</i> M5
269.	snuff-box	<i>jema caniànicù</i> M1 (<i>jema</i> = 'tobacco', - <i>canià</i> 'be, stay', <i>nicù</i> 'inside') cf. # 268, 337, 422
270.	chicha	• <i>ueni</i> M1 (= 'water') cf. # 34 • <i>tèvita</i> M4 (= 'moriche') cf. # 100
271.	yaraque (intoxicating drink)	<i>jaràchi</i> M4 (a drink obtained from roasted manioc fermented for a long time)
272.	k.o. drink	<i>jucùtapeti</i> M4 (a drink obtained from manioc mashed in water)

273. oil extracted from turtle eggs *timì* M3
 274. curare *macuri* M4
 275. thing of the same kind (of another) *-purenà* M1, M4, M7 (= ‘relative’) cf. # 217
 276. leftovers *purenàmi* M4 cf. # 275
 277. crack *-virrupenà* M9, Giliij (1784b)
 278. hole *icu* M8

I-Place names

279. Orinoco River *parràva* M1
 280. Sipapo River *tipàpu* M3
 281. Anaveni River *anavèni* M1 ?cf. # 94
 282. Rio Branco *veni marichini* M3 (lit. ‘white river’) cf. # 34, 289
 283. Raudal de Atures *mapàra* M3
 284. Raudal de Maipures *quittùna* M3

Adjectives

285. other *pàuria* M1, M4, M5, M7
 286. clear
 • *acanàni* M1
 • *icunà* M9
 • *catèni* M1
 • *icanani* M9 (perhaps a mistake for ‘clear’; cf. # 286)
 288. black, blue *curichini* M1, M3 *curikini* M9, M8
 289. white *marichini* M1, M3 *marekini* [sic] M9
 290. yellow *evachini* M1
 291. red *cajumèni* M1, M9
 292. tall, high *aubari* M1
 293. short, low *cavasachi* M1
 294. small, little *matisi* M1, M3, M5
 295. sweet *cunè* M1, M5, M9
 296. good *sonicapèri* M1
 297. good, beautiful *sonirri* M1, M8
 298. bad *matibe* M2
 299. bad, ugly *maisui* M1
 300. irritable *uavirri* M1
 301. drunk *poeta* M1
 302. planted *panacarè* M1

Numerals

303. one (human) *papàita* M4, M7, *papèta* M4, M7, *popetas* [sic] M10
 304. one (animal) *paviàta* M4, M7
 305. one (object) *pachiàta* M1, M4, *pakiàta* M5, M7
 306. one (period of time) *mapuchia* M4, *mapukia* M7
 307. two (human) *avanùme* M1, M4, M7, M8, *avanome* M10
 308. two (animals) *avinume* M4, M7

309. two (objects)
 • *achinumè* M4, *akinume* M7
 • *apèchi* [sic] M1, M8
 310. two (periods of time) *apucinumè* M4, M7
 311. three (human, animals, objects) *apechivà* M4, *apekivà* M7
 312. three (periods of time) *apèchi-pucu* M4
 313. three *peyiveyi* M10
 314. four
 • *apèapèchipachi* M4, *apekipaki* [sic] M7
 • *yalivac* [sic] M10
 315. five
 • *papètaerri* [sic] *capiti* M4, M7 (lit. ‘only one single hand’) cf. # 144, 303
 • *yaviyi* M10
 316. six
papeta janà pauria capiti purenà M4, *papeta yanà pauria capiti purenà* M7 (*papeta* = ‘one (human)’, *pauria* = ‘other’, *-càpi* = ‘hand’, *-purenà* = ‘thing of the same kind’) cf. # 144, 217, 285, 303
 317. ten *apanumèrri capiti* M4, M7 (lit. ‘just two hands’) cf. # 144, 307
 318. eleven
papèta janà chiti purena M4, *papeta yanà kiti purenà* M7 (*papèta* = ‘one (human)’, *-chi* ‘foot, toe’, *-purena* = ‘thing of the same kind’) cf. # 148, 217, 303
 319. twenty *papèta camonèe* M4, M7 (lit. ‘one man’) cf. # 182, 303
 320. forty *avanùme camonèe* M7 (lit. ‘two men’) cf. # 182, 307
 321. sixty *apekivàe* [sic] *camonèe* M7 (lit. ‘three men’) cf. # 182, 311

Other nominal modifiers

322. many *ebacarì* M1
 323. all *ununà* M1
 324. only *pinà* M1, M6

Adpositions

325. to (dative, directional) *-iche* M1, M4, *-ike* M2, M5, M6
 326. with (comitative)
 • *-iàmi* M1
 • *-vichini* M1
 327. with (comitative, instrumental) *-inà* M1, M2
 328. from *-ituà* M1, M5, *-ittuà* M2
 329. from, through *-iquà* M1, *-ikuà* M6
 330. under *-epiti* M1, M6
 331. beyond *-ipuntà*
 332. before (reference to time) *-piàu* M1
 333. in, on (see §3.2)
 • *-iatì* M1, M2, M4, M6, M9
 • *-ipati* M1, M6
 • *-ibati* M1
 • *-icuti* M1, M2, M6
 • *-pachiti* M1, M7, *-pakiti* M6

334. like, as

- *-chi* M1, *-ki* M6
- *-inà* M1
- ve* M1, M2, M4

Verbs

A–Active verbs

335. answer, obey *-turrùpa* (1) M1, *-tturùpa* M1
 336. appear, show oneself *-merra* (3) M1
 337. be, stay *-canià* (3) M1, M2, M4, M5, M6
 338. be ashamed *-neca* (3) M1
 339. be stingy *-sènichì* (1) M1, M4
 340. bring, take
 - *-tùca* (1) M1, M4
 - *-capià* (1) M2 (*-càpi* = ‘hand’) cf. # 144
 341. can, finish *-vichina* (1) M1, *-vikina* M6
 342. chase out *-terruà* (1) M1
 343. come *-nuà* (1) M1, M4
 344. deceive *-menià* (1) M1, M2
 345. die, be ill *-mavà* (2) M1
 346. dine, have dinner *-èca* (1) *usi* M1 (lit. ‘eat manioc’) cf. # 267, 348
 347. disobey *-masavà* (1) M1
 348. eat *-èca* (1) M1, M2, M4, M8, *-ecca* M1, M5
 349. enter *-tapunà* (1) M1
 350. fish *-mià* (1) *timachì* M1, M4, M6 (lit. ‘kill fish’) cf. # 77, 360
 351. flee *-mapita* (3) M4
 352. forget *-mejamè* (1) M4
 353. forgive, be merciful *-kinanà* (1) M2
 354. give *-taà* (1) M1, M2, M4, M5
 355. give birth, be born *-nupà* (1) M1
 356. go *-ia* (3) M1, M4, M5, M6, M8
 357. grieve, become sad *-taà* (1) *-nichini* M1 (‘give one’s own heart’) cf. # 146, 354
 358. hear *-càca* (1) M1
 359. hide oneself *-meniqua* (3) M1
 360. kill, wound *-mià* (1) M1, M4, M6
 361. kneel *-sunuà* (3) *-cumàrachì-inà* M1 (lit. ‘sit on one’s knees’) cf. # 149, 333, 380
 362. know (something), understand *-vià* (1) M1, M2, M4
 363. know how to *-secàcuni* (1) M1, M6, *-seccàcuni* M1, M4
 364. let *-vèka* (1) M2
 365. lie *-puttāpe* (1) M4
 366. make, do *-umà* (1) M1
 367. meet, be in front *-vi* (1) M1
 368. order, command, send *-vanacaré* (1) M1, *-uanacaré* M1, M6
 369. paddle *-nau* (2) M1 (also noun stem, ‘paddle’) cf. # 260
 370. paint, write *-seca* (1) M4
 371. place, put down *-nuà* (1) M1
 372. rain *-tià* (1) M8 (also noun stem, ‘rain’) cf. # 30
 373. reproach *-vejà* (1) M1

374. say *-ma* (1) M1, M4
 375. say one’s prayers *-arresa* (2) M1 (Sp.: *rezar*)
 376. see, look *-navà* (1) M1, M5, M6, M8
 377. shake (of earth) *-teriria* (2) M4 (the word *teririacà*, said to be the equivalent of the Sp. *temblor*, seems not to be a noun but a verb; cf. the Piapoco stative verb *tiriri* ‘thunder’)
 378. show *-ica* (1) M1
 379. be silent *-nuviaco* (1) M8
 380. sit *-sunuà* (3) M1
 381. sleep *-ima* (2) M1, M8
 382. smell *-sisuà* (1) M4
 383. speak, speak a language *-turà* (1) M1, M4, M5, M6
 384. stand up *-chieca* (3) M1, *-kieca* M6
 385. sweat *-jatānapà* (1) M1
 386. take away, remove, deliver *-vèka* (1) M2
 387. take out *-muruà* (1) M1, M6
 388. tell *-purià* (2) M1, M4
 389. touch *-paà* (1) M1, M6
 390. want, will, love *-jàsa* (1) M1, M2, M4, *-yasa* M6

B–Stative verbs

391. be another *pàuria* M4 (= ‘other’) cf. # 285
 392. be bad, be ugly *maisuini* M1, M5, M4 (= ‘bad, ugly’) cf. # 299
 393. be bad *matibe* M2 (= ‘bad’) cf. # 298
 394. be bad smelling *isi* M1
 395. be sweet *cunè* M1 (= ‘sweet’) cf. # 295
 396. be good, be beautiful *sonirri* M1, M4, M5 (= ‘good, beautiful’) cf. # 297
 397. be happy *puite* M1
 398. be near *juàni* M1
 399. be sweet smelling *ivi* M1, M9
 400. be upright *aarrapi* M1
 401. hurt *cavi* M1

Adverbs

402. at first *papujà* M1
 403. long time ago *papujatàmi* M1 cf. # 402
 404. at that time *uàti-rri-uàti* M1 (*uàti* = ‘when’) cf. # 440
 405. afterwards *pàuria uàti* M1 (*pàuria* = ‘other’, *uàti* = ‘when’) cf. # 285, 440
 406. yesterday *tècu* M1, M8
 407. today, now *jacàpi* M1, *yacapi* M2
 408. right now *jàcapi isi* M1 (*jàcapi* = ‘today, now’) cf. # 407
 409. this morning *irràvipè* M1
 410. this evening *tamàni* M1
 411. tomorrow *upìè* M1, M5
 412. during the day, by day *pècumi-epi* M1 (*pècumi* = ‘day’) cf. # 45
 413. during the night, at night *jatti-epi* M1 (*jatti* = ‘night’) cf. # 46
 414. always *pacatià* M1, M2, *paccatià* M4

415.	soon	<i>avini</i> M1
416.	nearby	<i>juàni pinà</i> M1 (<i>juàni</i> = ‘(be) near’, <i>pinà</i> = ‘only’) cf. # 324, 398
417.	far away	<i>icurichì</i> M1
418.	here	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>aaraàri</i> M1, <i>araàri</i> M1 • <i>arè-pinà</i> M1 (<i>pinà</i> = ‘only’) cf. # 324
419.	there	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>achià</i> M1 • <i>iche</i> M1 (= ‘to (dative, directional)’)
420.	up	<i>aniùche</i> M1, <i>aniuke</i> M8, M9
421.	down	<i>peni-iatì</i> M1, M9 (lit. ‘on the ground’) cf. # 16, 333
422.	inside	<i>nicù</i> M1, M6
423.	well	<i>sonirri</i> M1 (= ‘good, beautiful’) cf. # 297
424.	badly	<i>maisuini</i> M1 (= ‘bad, ugly’) cf. # 299
425.	sweetly, with relish	<i>cunè</i> M1, M5 (= ‘sweet’) cf. # 295
426.	slowly	<i>amàpi</i> M1
427.	for a long time, at length	<i>veve</i> M1, M4
428.	a lot	<i>ve napì</i> M1 (<i>ve</i> = ‘like, as’) cf. # 334
429.	painfully, hard, strongly	<i>cavi</i> M1 (= ‘hurt’) cf. # 401
430.	thus	<i>naà pinà uàti</i> M1 (<i>naà</i> = ‘if’, <i>pinà</i> = ‘only’) cf. # 324, 436
431.	also	<i>niacà</i> M1, M6
432.	where	<i>uacàti</i> M1, M6
433.	from where	<i>uacàu</i> M4
434.	why	<i>iti pare umàri</i> M1 (lit. ‘what does he do?’) cf. # 14, 366, 442

Conjunctions, particles, greetings, etc.

435.	because	<i>sapàni</i> M1, M4
436.	if	<i>naà</i> M1, M4, M6
437.	although	<i>nicamà</i> M4
438.	therefore	<i>naumari</i> M1, M4
439.	as	<i>veià</i> M2 cf. # 334
440.	when	<i>uati</i> M1 (switch-reference sensitive; see §3.9.2.2.1)
441.	not	<i>nuca</i> M1, M2, M4, M6
442.	WH-question particle	<i>parè</i> M1, M4, M5 (see §3.8.3.1)
443.	neutral yes/no-question particle	<i>marè</i> M4, M6 (see §3.8.3.2(i))
444.	tag-question particle	<i>nicà</i> M4 (see §3.8.3.2(ii))
445.	then	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>niapà</i> M1 (see §3.7) • <i>iquà</i> M1 (see §3.7)
446.	marker of male speech	<i>nau</i> M1, M5, <i>no</i> M1, M5 (see §1.5)
447.	marker of female speech	<i>mau</i> M1, M5, <i>mò</i> M1, M5 (see §1.5)
448.	Is that you? (greeting said to person arriving)	<i>pia nicà</i> M4 cf. # 2, 444
449.	Did you come? (greeting said to someone who has just arrived)	<i>pinuà nicà</i> M4 cf. # 343, 444
450.	hello (arriving from a journey)	<i>bare nau</i> M4
451.	yes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>saje</i> M1, <i>saye</i> M6 • <i>ja</i> M1, M6

452.	no	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>u u</i> M1, M6 • <i>u u ja</i> M1, M4
453.	no, there is not	<i>nucamà</i> M1 (<i>nuca</i> = ‘not’) cf. # 441
454.	oh, indeed?	<i>maonèe</i> M4
455.	who knows	<i>avini</i> M1, M4 <i>tamarè</i> M4

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